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Communist International Congress (4th : 1922 : Saint Petersburg and Moscow, Russia)

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RESOLUTIONS AND THESES *of the* FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTER- NATIONAL

Held in Moscow
Nov. 7 to Dec. 3
1922



Published for
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TO THE PRISONERS OF CAPITALISM



PRISONERS of Capitalism! Heroes in the struggle for the freedom of the working class, the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries assembled at the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International send you greetings!

Comrades, from year to year the world Congresses of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard, pointed out the conquests of the working class, paid homage to the working class and to the victims of the struggle, who have fallen at the hands of the executioners and to those confined in prisons. From the moment that the United Front of Capital began its onslaught, its cruelty has manifested itself in full force. Once again throughout the capitalist world where the proletariat is fighting its "last battle" with its class enemy—proletarian blood is being shed and the flower of the proletariat languishes in prisons. Waves of the White Terror spread over the capitalist nations.

In Italy, the Fascisti fight the proletariat with fire and sword—burn up the offices of the trade unions, labour organisations and party organs—not stopping at anything, even destroying the homes of the fighters for the freedom of the working class!

In France the heroic sailors who have refused to go against the Russia of the workers and peasants continue to languish in prisons, and during the Havre strike the defenders of capitalism once again reaped their bloody harvest. The blood of the workers flows along the streets of Berlin, and the workers who fight against the monarchist reaction are being thrown into prisons. Those who took part in Soviet Bavaria, regardless of the fact that three years have passed since its fall, are still in prison. Many of the participators in the March uprising are still confined to prison, notwithstanding the fact that an amnesty has been declared.

In Esthonia, after the execution of Comrade Kingissep, the prisons are filled with the representatives of the proletariat. In Latvia punishment by hanging is being again introduced. Comrade Klyavs-Klyavin is sentenced to death, and the fate of the hundreds of arrested workers has not yet been decided.

In democratic Poland, fighters for Communism are sentenced to hard labour in accordance with the laws of Czardom.

The "Inviolable" deputy, Comrade Dombel, has been sentenced to hard labour and is already serving his term. Electoral committees are being illegally arrested. Over 500 men are confined in prison for participating in election com-

mittees. The frontiers are declared in a state of siege, and field court martials are being introduced. Men are being killed in Roumania under the pretext of "attempting to escape." During the examination of prisoners, torture is being used which calls forth protest even from the bourgeoisie.

In Yugo-Slavia arrest and torture proceed apace, and the workers are treated with contempt. In Hungary the bloody rule of Horthy continues its executions and tortures. In South Africa the strikers are being dealt with rigorously. Democratic America, proud of its freedom, metes out severe punishment to anyone even suspected of belonging to the Communist Party. The American bourgeoisie raid trade unions, make arrests by the hundred, beat up and club the strikers. In India, Egypt, and in all the colonies the slightest expression of dissatisfaction, the slightest attempt at resistance to unrestrained exploitation is crushed by military force.

Comrades! In all their bloody acts social democracy is the handmaid of the bourgeoisie. The lies of the Social Democrats divert the working classes from the struggle, offering liberal reforms without revolution. It is they who betray the proletariat; they who divert the attention of the masses of one country and cover up the cruel acts of the bourgeoisie in its treatment of the workers of other countries.

Comrades! Workers! The Communist International has grown accustomed to persecution. Each conquest of the revolution is dearly bought with the blood of the fighters. The stronger the struggle, the more victims there will be. People perish—the idea never perishes. Comrades confined in the capitalist prisons—on this great day of the Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, we share with you a deep assurance that the hour approaches when the revolutionary proletariat will free itself from the yoke of capitalism and the weight of capitalist exploitation, break open the prisons and with honour bring you back into its ranks as its most honourable comrades.

Away with the capitalist executioners! Hail to the struggle for the freedom of the working class!

Hail to the struggle for the freedom of our heroic fighters languishing in the capitalist prisons!



TO THE TOILERS of RUSSIA



THE Fourth World Congress of the Communist International, meeting in its first session in Petrograd, the city where the world proletarian revolution had its beginning and where the Soviet Government was born, sends its warmest greetings and congratulations to the workers, peasants, and Red Army men of Soviet Russia who are celebrating the fifth anniversary of the great November Revolution.

Comrades, five years ago, by your heroic assault upon the fortress of the old world, you have overthrown the rule of landlords and of the capitalist class in your country; you have conquered and torn out of the hands of capital the sixth part of the globe; you have defended in conditions of a most severe civil war, against world capitalism, the land of the Soviet Republic, this heritage of the entire world proletariat, and now you have the opportunity to advance every day along the path of peaceful Socialist reconstruction period.

This victory was not secured by you easily; hundreds of thousands of working men and peasants have laid down their lives for the cause of Communism. For a period of years the working class had to live in conditions of the greatest suffering and want, hearing every day and night the cries of their hungry children. But the working class did not lower its red banner, and led by its unbending vanguard—the Russian Communist Party—it has valiantly, and with firm step, gone through the most difficult part of its road.

Kneeling together with you before the innumerable graves of proletarians and Red Army men who have fallen for our common cause upon the vast plains of Soviet Russia, the Fourth Congress acknowledges with great joy that already at the time of the fifth anniversary of the November Revolution, and when only one year of peaceful reconstruction has passed, Soviet Russia is rapidly healing the wounds inflicted on her in the struggle. The industry and agriculture of the country are being noticeably re-established. The material conditions of the working class are improving. A new generation of the youth of the working class is growing up which is mastering science and technical knowledge. The forces of the workers and peasants of the Red Army are increasing, and at the same time the working class of Russia hold fast in their hands the power of Government.

The Fourth Congress assembles on Soviet territory at a time when the dark clouds of capitalist reaction are gathering over the workers of the world. Everywhere capitalism is fighting against all economic achievements of the working class. Everywhere wages are being decreased, the eight-hour day is

given up, and the rights of the trade unions are curtailed.

Reaction is growing in the political field. In Italy the power of Government is seized by the criminal element, the robber bands of Fascisti, these last reserves of the capitalist class in the struggle for its existence. In Germany the monarchist forces are being organised and prepared for attack. In England even the Government of Lloyd George was found to be too Liberal and was replaced by Conservatives. The contradictions of classes are becoming more acute, and everything points to the fact that Europe is getting into a tangle leading to the most desperate mortal battle between the proletariat and the capitalist regime.

But the darker the night is becoming in Europe, all the brighter are shining in the Soviet North, the stars of your and our proletarian dictatorship. The more unbearable the condition is becoming of the workers in other countries under the heel of capital growing more and more insolent, with all the more hope the working class of the entire world is looking in the direction of that part of the globe where now already for five years exists the unchangeable Government of work-calloused hands. Comrades! you in your hard struggle need our help and support, but maybe in even still greater degree will we need the help of the first World Proletarian Government at the decisive moment in our struggle against capital. Do all, therefore, to preserve our common conquest—your and our proletarian front, and our common victory will spread over the entire world!

Long live the great November Revolution and its heroes!

Long live the Russian working class!

Long live the Proletarian Petrograd, the birthplace of Soviet Government!

Death to World Capitalism and its main support—the treacherous Social Democrats and Reformists!

Long live the World Proletarian Revolution!

Long live the World Socialist Federative Soviet Republic!



To the RED ARMY & NAVY

THE Fourth World Congress of the Communist International extends its warmest greetings and heartfelt gratitude to the heroic fighters of the Red Army and Fleet. Soviet Russia is the only place on earth where the representatives of the revolutionary workers of the world are able without interference to work for the organisation of the struggle for the liberation of toiling humanity from the yoke of capitalism. Only due to the victories of the Red Army and to its powerful defence the delegates of the working class have the opportunity to assemble for a fourth time at the World Congress.

Red warriors of the Army and Fleet! You realise that the revolutionary workers of all countries share with you the joys of your triumphs and with deep pain share with you the bitterness of defeat. In all countries the class-conscious workers realise that you were conducting a struggle not only for your own freedom, but also for the common cause of the workers of the world. At former congresses we unanimously hailed you as the warriors of the Communist International and the heroes of the struggle for all humanity.

Comrades! Warriors of the Red Army and Fleet! during the past years of the struggle the revolutionary workers of the world were unfortunately too weak to rush to your assistance in the final conflict. For this reason it was so difficult for you to conduct your struggle against the united forces of world capitalism. But the Communists of all countries did not lose a single day. They worked incessantly for the enlightenment and unification of the masses and their preparation for the overthrow of capitalism. The present Fourth Congress will also devote its entire time to this foremost task of the world proletariat.

Congratulating you, heroic warriors of the Red Army and Fleet, on your brilliant victory in the Far East, the Fourth Congress of the Communist International warns you that the time for universal disarmament, the time for the cessation of wars has not yet come. As long as power is held in the majority of countries by capitalists, who use their armies for their piratic purposes, condemning to death millions of workers in the interest of capital, so long will war continue, and all nations, the nations of the Soviet Republics included, will remain under the constant threat of the horrors of war.

Be on guard, heroes of the Red Army and Fleet, the danger has not passed! The Fourth Congress with great joy greets the efforts of the Soviet Republics to fortify the power of the Red Fleet and to bring it into readiness for defence of the revolution!

Long live the Red Army and Fleet!

TO RED PETROGRAD



Zinoviev: Comrades, the Congress will do great honour to the Petrograd workers by addressing special greetings to our city in the name of the Communist International. Comrade Kolaroff, the old leader of the Balkan Communist Federation, will now speak.

Kolaroff (reads) : **To the working men and women, and to the Red Army men of Red Petrograd.**

On the solemn occasion of the anniversary of the October Revolution, the Fourth Congress of the Communist International extends its greeting to the heroic proletariat of Red Petrograd.

By its courageous action in the February-March days in 1917, the working men and women in Petrograd, supported by the soldiers of the garrison, threw down from the blood-stained pedestal the hated Czarism, and in the form of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies laid the foundation of the organisation destined very soon to complete the triumph of revolution and open a new era of construction of the Proletarian State.

In the memorable days of October, 1917, the Petrograd proletariat advanced to a point from which a new era in human history was to proceed.

Following on the footsteps of the immortal Paris Commune of 1871, the Petrograd workers overthrew the power of the bourgeoisie and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, and thus ushered in the era of the social revolution, not only in Russia, but the world over.

In the internal and external war which commenced from this moment and lasted for many years, the Petrograd proletariat stood continuously in the front ranks, sending its sons to all fronts and contributing incalculable sacrifices in toil and lives.

Its example fired the hearts of the broad working masses of Russia with enthusiasm, and to-day, after five years, the Russian working class is able to congratulate itself on the attainment of complete victory on all internal and external fronts.

At the present time, during the transition to peace construction, the indefatigable Petrograd proletariat continues to occupy one of the foremost places at the front of labour. By its efforts, Petrograd is healing its wounds and is once more being converted into an industrial proletarian centre.

The merits of Red Petrograd are great, not only in the eyes of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic, but also in the eyes of the entire world proletariat. Soviet Russia has become

the backbone of the international movement, its bulwark and hope.

If the Russian Revolution has aroused the spirit of all countries by lending a powerful impetus to the international struggle for the social revolution, it is largely due to the services of Red Petrograd. Its example of inexhaustible heroism inspires the workers of all countries to an untiring struggle for its complete liberation and for the establishment of the World Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics.

Hence, the world proletariat considers Red Petrograd as one of its chief fortresses, and the hearts of the workers of all countries are throbbing with love and sympathy for the working masses of the Northern Commune.

Hence it is that on the Fifth Anniversary of the glorious October Revolution and on the day of the solemn opening of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, the first thought of the delegates of this world congress of the workers turns to Red Petrograd, in whose hospitable walls we celebrate this world proletarian festival.

Undying glory to the heroic proletarians of Red Petrograd !

Long live the Petrograd workers, the pioneers of the Social Revolution and the paragon of the World Proletariat !

FROM VLADIVOSTOCK

Greetings from the Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers of Vladivostock.

COMRADES ! From the shores of the Pacific Ocean, where the Red Soviet Flag flies, we send you our proletarian greetings. To-day, after four unhappy years of Japanese intervention and the excesses of the White Guards, the Soviet of Workers, Peasants and Red Soldiers delivered from its enemies, has reassembled in the city of Vladivostock. The innumerable sacrifices of the Russian workers have not been in vain. After a bloody struggle, the Red Army has won the last piece of Russian territory which has hitherto been in the power of the emissaries of the Japanese militarists. The people of Vladivostock greet their liberators with enthusiasm; with curses it has sped on their way the reactionaries in their cowardly flight. For the first time, a powerful Workers' and Peasants' Army has paraded the streets of the free city with their victorious banner. This triumphant procession has shown the power of the working class of Soviet Russia and of the whole world, a class united and invincible. The appearance of this orderly army in the city abandoned only a few hours previously by the interventionists, has given the workers the assurance that the time of trial is over. After the departure of the interventionists and the capture of Vladi-

vostock by the Red Army, there is no longer need of the temporary government of the Republic of the Far East, which was created in 1920 in order to prevent a collision between Soviet Russia, which was still comparatively weak, and the belligerent Japanese imperialists.

Comrades! you know how, during these last two years, Soviet Russia has become strong; you know what successes it has gained in the international field. You have seen how the delegates of Soviet Russia have defended the interests of their Government at Genoa and at the Hague. You know the blows which Japanese schemes of annexation received at the conference of Dairan and Tchâng-Thun. Soviet Russia has built up its strength; thanks to the unexampled enthusiasm and exertion of the entire strength of the workers, her innumerable enemies have been defeated and her economic disorganisation repaired. The imperialist policy of Japan has been broken by the resistance of the Russian people, by the Japanese people themselves, and by the pressure of those great Powers which are interested in hindering the growth of Japanese influence. The liberation of the Primur provinces signifies the definite reunion of all the scattered regions of Russia. The Japanese proletariat has proved itself conscious of its task, and has shown its resolute will to reunite the whole of the Primur region, devastated by intervention and by the White bandits, with the homeland of the revolutionary workers of Vladivostock. On the 5th November, the great day arrived on which we realised the dreams of all the exploited, of the disinherited and oppressed. In all the unions of Vladivostock, the election took place of workers' delegates to the Soviet. The peasants and the Red Army also sent their delegates.

This is not merely a victory for the workers and peasants of the Pacific Coast and the workers of Russia. It is a victory for the world proletariat. It is your victory, comrades, because from now on the Primur region will be an individual part of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, the hearth of the world revolution. From now on the principles of the world revolution, the principles of the October Revolution, will shed their light upon the towns and villages of the Primur region, which, during long years, were steeped in the gloom of reaction.

Accept our greetings, comrades, in this moment of painful struggle which you are carrying on against the master classes of your respective countries. All the sympathies of the Vladivostock proletariat are with you. Ourselves but recently freed, with all our heart we desire your emancipation from capitalist exploitation. Deliverance is near, comrades: you have as proof the World Congress of the Communist International, now being held in Moscow, the premier city of the social revolution. Comrades, the working class of the Pacific

Coast has conquered, but it is not assured of peace, and of the possibility of organising its social life and the economic development of the country so long as foreign war vessels still lie off the shores of Vladivostock. The continuation of intervention in Russian waters gives to the White Guards the hope of striking another blow at the young proletarian Soviets of the Primur region. We await your word. We are certain that it will sound from your hearts in the form of protests addressed to your respective governments. To them you should say, "Hands off Soviet Russia."

The Chief Secretary of the Regional Bureau, Pchenitsine.
Witnessed: Chief of Administration.

Asamov 55, November 9th, 1922.

TO ITALIAN WORKERS

Greetings to Italian Workers.

Comrade Béron (reads): Dear Brothers, Comrades, Workers and Peasants of Italy! On the day of the solemn opening of the Fourth Congress of the Third International concurrent with the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the victory of the proletarian revolution, the Communist International makes its appeal to you, realising that the recent events in your country place at the forefront of the revolutionary arena the struggle against the unbridled sway of reaction which is overrunning your country.

Two years ago the Comintern insistently advised the leaders of the then United Italian Socialist Party to take the offensive to purge the party of the reactionaries.

But the advice of people inclined to half measures and caution gained the upper hand. They were frightened by the dictatorship of the proletariat. They alluded to the deeply rooted popular tradition of bourgeois democracy and bourgeois law and order.

Later, what the Comintern predicted, came to pass; while the Centrists were busy negotiating with the Right Wing, the bourgeoisie regained its strength, the reaction took the offensive and power was captured by the bandits, who personified the most violent class hatred towards you and your ideals.

The Fascisti became the masters of the situation.

They have actually established a dictatorship. They trampled under foot all semblance of democracy and of law and order—those false gods which the weak leaders of Italian Socialism worshipped. By iron and blood they are demolishing totally the remnants of the workers' organisations. Do not despair, brothers of our class! Not only has not all been lost, but employing well-considered and determined tactics, victory is sure of attainment. The forces of the proletariat in the largest industrial cities—Turin, Milan, Venice and Trieste—remain unimpaired and can easily be prepared to repel the enemy.

The Communist Party of Italy was alert enough to break on time with the vacillating elements which, under the guise of maximalism, carried out the tactics of indecision and compromise, going so far as to conclude a year ago a peace agreement with the Fascist bandits. To-day, the Communist Party firmly holds aloft the Red Banner in its hands. The Communist Party issues a call to all Socialists who are in favour of revolutionary action and to the entire working mass and the class-conscious peasantry to rally their forces round the banner of revolution!

It must be acknowledged that if the forces of revolution in Italy are not so weak as presented by the panic-mongers, on the other hand the forces of the Fascisti are much weaker than their friends and followers claim, because in the camp of our class enemies there is a lack of unity.

The Fascisti are first of all a tool in the hands of the agrarians. The industrial commercial bourgeoisie observe with fear the experiment in unbridled reaction which they designate black Bolshevism.

On the other hand, in addition to the politically immature elements which are actually in the struggle, such as the reactionary students, demobilised officers, and ordinary hooligans, the Fascisti counts in their ranks certain elements of the rural proletariat and a section of the peasantry. These elements will soon realise by what deceptive promises they were carried into the counter-revolutionary adventure, which is converting them into an army of the landlords to fight against their own brothers.

Finally, Fascism is the policy of international adventurers. Grandiloquent, but without a definite programme and definite ideals, without a firm and united class basis, Fascism is bound to arouse against itself a broad movement, even among the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie.

The entire Comintern is behind you, dear Comrades. It is very closely watching the unfolding of your strenuous and responsible struggle. It points out to the proletarians of all countries the lesson of the Italian events as an illustration of the consequences of the terrible tactical mistakes of opportunism. It will be only too glad to point to the further history of your movement as an illustration of how such mistakes can be rectified. The Communist International stands ready to lend its utmost support in your bitter struggle.

Long live the unity of the workers of Italy in the struggle against reaction!

Long live the persecuted but courageous Communist Party of Italy!

Long live the unity of the workers of the world in the struggle with capitalism! (Applause.)

To the WORKING MASSES of TURKEY

THE Fourth Congress of the Third International, held contemporaneously with the fifth anniversary of the great Proletarian Revolution, sends its warmest greetings to the workers and peasants of Turkey, wishing them success in their heroic struggle for independence against Western imperialism.

Comrades of Turkey! you have given a live example of a revolutionary movement of independence to the entire East and to all the Colonial countries subjugated by imperialism.

But the latest events show that the bourgeois nationalist government intends to usurp the fruits of this victory won at the price of your tremendous sacrifices.

The nationalist government of Angora is ready to come to terms with the imperialists at the price of some concessions obtained for the benefit of the big bourgeoisie of Turkey. It inaugurated this new policy by dissolving the Communist Party and suppressing all its organisations, by making wholesale arrests and maltreating our imprisoned comrades in barbarous fashion, and finally by suppressing the Turkish Labourers' Union at Constantinople.

The Turkish Communist Party has always supported the bourgeois nationalist government in the struggle of the toiling masses against imperialism. The Turkish Communist Party consented even, in face of the common enemy, to make temporary concessions in its programme and its ideal.

In view of these facts, the attitude of the government towards the Communist Party demonstrates the desire of the government to banish all the conscious representatives of the working class and the peasantry who will insist on realisation of the democratic reforms which were solemnly pledged in order to obtain your aid, and also in order to make the appearance of a real bourgeois government at the Lausanne Conference.

The bourgeois government of Turkey has the audacity to commit against you and your representatives such crimes that arouse the indignation of the entire world proletariat, led by the Russian proletariat, which grudged no material or moral sacrifice during the most trying period, when all the imperialist and capitalist Powers made common cause for the purpose of strangling the toiling people of Turkey.

The nationalist government, in preparation for an understanding with the imperialists, endeavours to destroy your true representatives and to separate them from their friends abroad.

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International protests vigorously against this barbarous act, and considers it as its duty to solemnly proclaim its readiness to support any

government or political party that will refuse to play the part of the gendarme of imperialism, which will continually fight against imperialism and reaction, and which will realise the democratic reforms for the benefit of the toiling masses of Turkey. To you, the imprisoned comrades, the Third International—the general staff of the world proletariat—affectionately salutes you as the most conscious and most devoted representatives of the toiling masses of Turkey.

Remember, comrades, that the gloom of dungeons has never yet obscured the sun of the revolution.

Remember, comrades, that on the eve of the victory of the revolution, the impotence of the ruling class manifests itself by increased ferocity. This is what we are witnessing now, when capitalism breaks down under the weight of its inherent contradictions, when the shock of imperialist conflicts has reached its highest point, the international bourgeoisie redoubles its persecutions against the heralds and the builders of the new Communist society.

But no white terror ever succeeded in intimidating those who are firm in their faith of the inevitable and final victory of the social revolution. The place of every comrade that is imprisoned or shot is taken by hundreds of comrades arising from the exploited proletarian ranks, who will continue to fight for freedom with increased vigour.

Comrades, the Third International considers as its essential duty to do everything in its power to rescue you from the hands of your hangmen.

Long live the World Revolution!

Long live the faithful Communists of Turkey!

Long live the Third International!

Long live Soviet Russia!



Telegram to All-Indian Trade Union Congress

TO the All-Indian Trade Union Congress, Lahore.

Comrades, the proletariat of the West sends you its enthusiastic good wishes in the fight which you have been waging during the past year for the economic amelioration of the Indian working class. The Fourth Congress of the Communist International sends you heartiest greetings.

Comrades, in assuring you of our sympathy and in promising you our utmost support for the victory of your cause, we must at the same time remind you that yours is a very great cause, which should not be restricted. The Indian working class is fighting not only for "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work." The economic emancipation of the Indian workers and peasants depends upon the political liberty of the nation.

No amelioration of living conditions is possible while imperialist exploitation exists. It is for this reason that you will play an important part in the struggle for national independence. Prepare for this historic rôle. The advanced proletariat of fifty-two countries represented at this Congress is entirely on your side. Beware of the false friendship and the misleading advice of labour leaders that are subservient to imperialism.

With fraternal greetings.

Protest

against Japanese occupation of Saghalin.

THE Japanese and Chinese Delegations at the Fourth Congress of the Third Communist International propose the following resolution on the question of the occupation of the Russian section of Saghalin by the Japanese imperialists:—

"The Fourth World Congress of the Third Communist International sends greetings to the working population of the Russian section of Saghalin and of the Far East, as well as to the working class of Japan, and strongly condemns the Japanese imperialists who, during the last four years, have tormented the workers and peasants of Siberia.

"The evacuation of the imperialists from the maritime and the Amur regions, and finally also from Vladivostock, is the result of the heroic resistance of the working class population of the Russian Far East, and especially of the proletariat of the maritime region, and also the result of the ever-growing indignation of the wide working masses of Japan against the intervention and the government of the Mikado.

"While compelled to evacuate Siberia and the maritime region, the Japanese imperialists are still in occupation of Russian Saghalin, are still keeping the Russian population there in subjection, and from this position are still a menace to the young soviet social order in those territories of the Far East.

"The International proletariat is convinced that the time is not far distant when the militarist clique, which is now ruling over the Japanese workers and peasants, will stand before the tribunal of the Japanese proletariat and will be compelled to answer for its numerous crimes, including those committed in the Russian Far East."

Resolution on Jugo-Slav Terror

To the workers of the world!

WORKING men and women! Comrades!

The reactionary government of the young Jugo-Slavian capitalist State has committed many crimes against the Jugo-Slavian Communist proletariat during the two years' reign of white terror. The white court magistrates have already passed many death sentences. One of their victims is to be executed shortly.

This latest victim is our comrade, Keroshovich Jun. He was condemned to death for the crime of having been the leader of the general miners' strike in Jugo-Slavia in 1920.

Although outlawed, the revolutionary proletariat of Jugo-Slavia and our comrades succeeded in organising throughout the country a big campaign against this latest crime of the Jugo-Slavian government. They have also addressed an appeal to the members of the Second, Two-and-a-half, and Amsterdam Internationals, in which they invite them to establish against the white terror a united front of the entire Jugo-Slavian working class. The reply was in the negative.

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International expresses herewith its complete solidarity with the Communist proletariat of Jugo-Slavia, which is carrying on a struggle against the reactionary forces. It calls upon the revolutionary proletariat of all countries to join their protest to those of the Jugo-Slavian proletariat, and declare its complete solidarity with the latter in its struggle against the execution of Comrade Keroshovich.

With the leaders if possible, without the leaders if necessary, the working class of the whole world must protest unanimously and energetically against this latest crime of the Jugo-Slavian bourgeoisie and its social-democratic allies.

Down with the white terror!

Long live the Communist proletariat of Jugo-Slavia!

Resolution on South African Executions

THE Fourth Congress of the Communist International has received the news that the South African Government of General Smuts has executed four workers for having defended themselves during the mine workers' strike against the violence of the Government of lackeys in the service of gold and diamond mining capital.

The Congress denounces the South African Government, which, in the person of General Smuts, when in Europe, professed a liberal pacifist character, while in reality it does not hesitate to murder in order to suppress the working class movement.

The Fourth Congress sends fraternal greetings to the South African workers. It is convinced that not only will they not give up their fight, but that on the contrary they will learn how to draw the native workers too into the struggle against South African capitalism, and thereby ensure common and final victory. In this struggle the South African workers may rely upon the help of the Communist International, which looks upon them as one of its outposts.

Resolution on Irish Executions

THE Fourth Congress of the Communist International vigorously protests against the executions by the Irish Free State of the five national revolutionaries on the 17th and 25th November. It draws the attention of all the workers and peasants of the world to this savage culmination of a widespread and ferocious terror in Ireland. Already more than 6,000 valiant fighters against British imperialism have been thrown into jails under nauseating conditions. Scores of women have been compelled to hunger strike in prison, and already 1,800 casualties have resulted from five months' struggle against this terror, which has produced examples of horrible atrocities unparalleled by the British Black and Tans, the Italian Fascisti, or the American trust thugs.

The Free State, which has unhesitatingly used the British supplied artillery and munitions, rifles and bombs, and even aeroplanes with death-dealing machine-guns, on crowds of ordinary people as well as on the armed revolutionaries, has capped all this by the brutal executions of five men on the charge of merely having arms in their possession. This desparate shooting of prisoners is a direct outcome of the declared bankruptcy of the Free State, and is a last resort on its part to crush the resistance of the Irish masses fighting against their enslavement to the

British Empire. The crushing of the Republicans can only result in firmly establishing an imperialist terrorist Government, which will not hesitate to attack the Irish working class movement with the same brutal weapons upon the first signs of an advance to power or to better conditions. This being undeniably so, the action of the majority of the Labour Party, headed by Johnson, in supporting the executions, is the most criminal betrayal that these traitors to the working class have yet perpetrated, particularly so, when even the most reactionary Irish capitalist organ that called aloud for the blood of Connolly in 1916, deprecates this action of the Government.

The Comintern warns the working class of Ireland against these betrayals of the ideals of Connolly and Larkin, and points out to the Irish workers and peasants that the only road out of this Free State terrorism and imperialist oppression lies through an organised and co-ordinated struggle in the political and industrial as well as the military field. The struggle with arms alone, if not supplemented and reinforced by political and industrial action, will inevitably fail. To win success the masses must be mobilised against the Free State, and this can only be done on the basis of the social programme of the Communist Party of Ireland.

The C.I. sends fraternal greetings to the struggling Irish national revolutionaries, and feels that they will soon tread the only path that leads to real freedom, the path of Communism. The C.I. will assist all efforts to organise the struggle to combat this terror, and to help the Irish workers and peasants to victory.

Long live the Irish national struggle for independence!

Long live the Workers' Republic of Ireland!

Long live the Communist International!

Letter to Factory Councils Congress, Berlin-Neukoln

To the Factory Councils Congress, Neue Welt, Berlin-Neukoln.

Dear Comrades,—We follow your movements with great interest. You meet in a dark hour to show to the German working class how to free itself from misery and destitution. The capitalist offensive grows more acute from day to day. Its chief attack is now directed against the eight-hour day. The social-democratic leaders and the trade union bureaucrats are supporting this attack actively and passively. They sabotage every defensive action of the proletariat, and do not even scruple to split the trade unions in the interest of the capitalists.

The most important question at present is the formation of a united proletarian fighting front for the defence of the eight-hour day, for ensuring sufficient food for the workers, for workers' control of production, and to oppose the organisation of German fascism by the formation of the Arbeiter Wehr. In obedience to the demands of the hour, the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and the Second World Congress of the Red Trade Union International will address an open letter to the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals, as well as to the parties and trade unions adhering to them, inviting them to participate in common action for the above-mentioned demands.

Go on with your work, persistently and energetically. The Factory Council movement must be the rallying ground for the defensive struggle of the workers. It must conduct this defensive struggle on the widest possible basis. If you succeed in the teeth of resistance to establish a united front, you will have created the most important condition for the defensive struggle, nay, even for the transition to the offensive.

We, the representatives of the revolutionary workers of the whole world, gathered here in Moscow, wish success to your work and send you our revolutionary fraternal greetings."

The Fourth World Congress of the
Communist International.

The Second World Congress of the
Red Trade Union International.

Moscow, Nov., 1922.

Resolution on E.C. Report

"The Fourth World Congress of the Communist International wholly approves the political work of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, which, during the fifteen months of activity, has carried out the resolutions of the Third World Congress, and have applied them correctly in accordance with the special political conditions in each country.

The Fourth Congress approves especially the policy of the United Front as it has been formulated by the Executive Committee in its thesis of December, 1921, and in other documents of the Executive Committee relating to this question.

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International approves the attitude of the Executive Committee on the crisis in the French Communist Party, on the working-class movement of Italy, on the Communist Party of Norway, on the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia. Questions of practical

details will be dealt with by special commissions, whose resolutions will later be put before the Congress.

With regard to what has happened in certain parties, the Fourth Congress reminds the National Sections that the Executive Committee of the Comintern is the court of appeal for the whole Communist movement during the time between world congresses, and that its decisions are binding upon all affiliated parties. It follows therefrom that any infringement of these resolutions on the ground of a later appeal to the next congress is an open breach of discipline. If the Comintern should allow such practice, all regular and unified activity of the Comintern will become impossible.

In answer to the doubts of the Communist Party of France as to the application of par. 9 of the statutes of the Comintern, the Fourth Congress answers that this par. 9 gives the Executive Committee of the Comintern the unquestionable right to expel from the Comintern, and therefore from the affiliated national section, any person or group which according to the view of the Executive Committee, are inimical to Communism.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern is forced to make use of par. 9 every time a national party does not show the necessary energy and consideration for the protection of the Party to expel non-Communist elements from its ranks.

The Fourth Congress of the Comintern re-affirms the 21 Conditions laid down by the Second Congress of the Comintern, and demands of the future Executive Committee that it enforces these most strictly. The Executive Committee of the Comintern must become more than ever an international organisation of the proletariat; it must ruthlessly combat all opportunism; it must become an organisation based on the principle of the strictest democratic centralism."

Resolution on the Russian Revolution

THE Fourth World Congress of the Communist International expresses its gratitude and admiration to the working population of Soviet Russia, not only because it conquered State power and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also because it has successfully defended the achievement of the revolution against all enemies from within and from without. It has thus made lasting achievements for the cause of the emancipation of the exploited and oppressed of all countries which will make its memory live for ever.

The Fourth World Congress affirms with great satisfaction that the first workers' State of the world, "created by the

proletarian revolution, has during the five years of its existence, regardless of all difficulties and perils definitely demonstrated its strong will and great power to live and develop. The Soviet State has come out stronger than before from the horrors of civil war.

Owing to the unexampled heroism of the Red Army it has overthrown on all fronts the military counter-revolution, which was equipped and supported by the world bourgeoisie. Politically, it has repulsed all the attempts of the capitalist States to rob the Russian proletarian revolution of the fruits of the social revolution by diplomatic trickery and by economic pressure, striving for the recognition of the rights of private ownership of the means of production and for the renunciation of the nationalisation of industry. It unswervingly defended the fundamental condition of proletarian emancipation, i.e., the collective ownership of the means of production, against the attack of the world bourgeoisie. It saved the workers and peasants of the Soviet Republic from being reduced to the status of a colonial dependency by refusing to impose upon its shoulders the colossal national debt.

The Fourth World Congress of the Communist International establishes the fact that Soviet Russia, the proletarian State, as soon as it was no longer compelled to defend its existence by force of arms, has proceeded with unexampled energy with the development and reconstruction of the economic system of the Republic, while not swerving from the path which leads to Communism. The various phases and measures leading towards this aim, the transition phase of the so-called new economic policy, are products, on the one hand, of peculiar objective and subjective historic conditions in Russia, and on the other hand, of the slow trend of development of the world revolution and of the isolation of the Soviet Republic in the midst of capitalist States. Notwithstanding the enormous difficulties created by these conditions, the workers' State is able to record considerable progress in economic reconstruction.

Just as the Russian proletarians have paid dearly for the conquest and defence of political power and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in the interests of the workers of the world, it is they again who must bear the brunt of the battle during this period in which they are confronted with the problems and tasks of the transition from capitalism to Communism.

The Fourth World Congress with great satisfaction establishes the fact that the policy of Soviet Russia has ensured and consolidated the most important pre-requisite for the construction and the development of the Communist social order, viz., the Soviet Power, the Soviet order, the dictatorship of the proletariat. For it is this dictatorship alone which

overcomes the bourgeois capitalist resistance against the complete emancipation of the workers, and thus guarantees the complete overthrow of capitalism and a clear path towards the realisation of Communism.

The Fourth World Congress establishes also the decisive and glorious part which the bold attitude of the Russian Communist Party, as the leading class Party of the proletariat, has played, with the support of the peasants in the conquest and consolidation of the workers' State power. The ideological and organisational unity and strict discipline of the party has inspired the masses with confidence in the ultimate revolutionary aim, has raised their determination and self-sacrifice to the pitch of heroism, and has created a firm organic union between the leadership and the activity of the masses.

The Fourth World Congress reminds the proletarians of all countries that the proletarian revolution can never be completely victorious within one single country, but that it must win the victory internationally, as the world revolution. The work and struggle of Soviet Russia for its existence and for the achievement of the revolution, is the struggle for the emancipation of the proletarians, the oppressed and exploited of the whole world from slavery and servitude. The Russian proletarians have done more than their duty as the revolutionary pioneers of the world proletariat. The world proletariat must at last do its share. In all countries, the workers, the disinherited and the enslaved, must show morally, economically and politically the most active solidarity with Soviet Russia. Their own interest, and not only international solidarity, demand that they should engage for this purpose in the most energetic struggle against the bourgeoisie and the capitalist State. In all countries their watchword must be "Hands off Soviet Russia!" "De jure" recognition of Soviet Russia!

Universal active support for the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia!

The consolidation of Soviet Russia means the weakening of the world bourgeoisie. The five years' existence of Soviet Russia is the greatest blow which world capitalism has yet received, and which it cannot overcome.

The Fourth World Congress calls upon the proletarians of the as yet capitalist countries, inspired by the example of Soviet Russia, to strike a death-blow against capitalism and to do their utmost for the world revolution.



RESOLUTION

ON TACTICS OF COMINTERN

On the Report of Comrade Zinoviev on the Further Tactics of the Communist International.

I. Endorsement of the Resolutions of the Third Congress.

The Fourth World Congress of the Communist International emphatically states that the following resolutions of the Third World Congress have been completely confirmed through the experiences and the development of the working class movement in the period between the Third and Fourth Congresses :—

(1) Resolution on the World Economic Crisis and the tasks of the Communist International; and

(2) Resolution on the tactics of the Communist International.

II. The Decline of Capitalism.

The Third World Congress, after an investigation of the world economic situation, could confidently assert that capitalism, after the fulfilment of its mission of developing the forces of production, now stands completely in opposition, not merely to the necessities of the present historical development, but even to the satisfaction of the most elementary human requirements. These fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system were clearly reflected in the recent imperialistic war, and were sharpened thereby, as the fabric of production and distribution received a shattering blow. Obsolete capitalism has now reached that stage when its unbridled powers of destruction cripple and destroy the economic accomplishments which have been achieved by a proletariat in a condition of capitalist serfdom.

The general aspect of the decay of capitalist economy shows no modification through the inevitable fluctuations which are a feature of the capitalist system, as much during its growth as during its decline. The efforts of bourgeois and social-democratic economists—who saw, in the improvement of the economic situation in the second half of 1921 in the United States, Japan and England, and also to some extent in France, a restoration of capitalist equilibrium—were founded partly on the deliberate misrepresentation of facts and partly on the short-sightedness of these lackeys of capitalism. The Third Congress, which was held before the present revival of industry, foresaw that this revival must inevitably take place in the comparatively near future, and characterised it then distinctly, as a superficial back wave in the advancing disintegration of capitalism. One can already clearly see that as the present revival of industry is by no means capable of restoring capitalist stability, nor even of repairing the grave damage wrought by the war, the next

periodical crisis will accentuate the downward course of capitalism and intensify the revolutionary situation to an unusual degree.

Capitalism will undergo periods of fluctuation until the day of its destruction. Only the seizure of power by the proletariat and the socialist revolution can save mankind from the complete catastrophe which is now inevitable in the conditions of present-day capitalism.

Capitalism is to-day in a period of deterioration. The collapse of capitalism is now inevitable.

III. The International Political Situation.

The international political situation also reflects the rapid decay of capitalism.

The Reparations problem is still unsolved. While conference after conference of the Entente Powers takes place, the economic destruction of Germany proceeds apace, and threatens the existence of capitalism in the whole of Central Europe. The catastrophic deterioration of the economic situation in Germany will either force the Entente to renounce their reparations claims—which would accentuate the political and economic crisis in France—or it will lead to the creation of a French-German industrial alliance on the Continent. The latter would damage the economic life of England, and its standing in the world market, and would bring England and the Continent into conflict.

In the Near East the Entente policies are completely bankrupt. The Sevres Treaty has been torn to pieces by Turkish bayonets. The war between Greece and Turkey and its consequences have plainly shown how unstable is the present political situation. The spectre of a new imperialistic war is looming ahead. After imperialistic France, actuated by its rivalry with England, had trampled underfoot the joint work of the Entente in the Near East, it once more returned to its place of common antagonism of the capitalist nations to the peoples of the East. The action of capitalist France has clearly shown to the peoples of the Near East that they can successfully carry on their struggle against their oppressors only by the side of Soviet Russia and with the support of the revolutionary world proletariat.

In the case of the Far East, the victorious Entente Powers endeavoured to revise the Versailles Treaty at the Washington Conference. They were only able, however, to gain a respite by the reduction, in next year's construction, of one particular class of armaments, namely, warships. But they came to no real solution of the problem. The struggle between America and Japan goes on, and adds fuel to the flames of civil war in China. The Pacific is menaced by the calamity of war.

The experiences of the movements for national liberation in India, Egypt, Ireland and Turkey, show that the colonial and semi-colonial countries are hotbeds of a growing revolu-

tionary movement against the imperialistic powers, and that inexhaustible reservoirs of revolutionary strength may there be found which, under the present circumstances, may be objectively directed against the entire bourgeois system of the world.

The Versailles Treaty is being annulled by facts. It does not lead the way to any general understanding among capitalist countries, nor to an abandonment of imperialism, but, on the contrary, it creates new antagonism, new imperialistic groupings and new armaments. In the present situation, the reconstruction of Europe is impossible. American capitalism will make no sacrifice to restore the capitalistic system in Europe. America is like a vulture hovering over Europe, which will become its prey. America will enslave capitalistic Europe unless the European working classes seize political power and clear away the wreckage of the world war by the reconstruction of Europe through a federated Soviet Republic.

The recent experiences of a small country such as Austria, have much importance as symptoms of the political condition of Europe. By edict of Entente Imperialism, the whole of that "democracy"—which has been so much praised by the Two-and-a-Half International, the defence of which served as a pretext for every act of betrayal of working-class interest, and the protection of which they placed in the hands of the most reactionary Monarchists, Christian Socialists, Pan-Germans, who simply used it for the re-establishment of their power—has been annihilated by a stroke of the pen in Geneva and replaced by the uncompromising dictatorship of a plenipotentiary of the Entente. As soon as the bourgeois parliament was eliminated, its place was taken by a servant of the Entente bankers. The Social Democrats, after a brief show of resistance, capitulated and voluntarily assisted in carrying out the damaging agreement. They even showed a badly-concealed willingness to re-enter the Coalition, in order to hamper as far as possible the resistance of the workers.

These experiences of little Austria, and also the recent rise to power of the Fascisti in Italy, clearly show the insecurity of the whole situation and prove that "democracy" is merely a sham and implies in truth the veiled dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. When this did not serve its purpose, a brutal white guard terror took the place of the bourgeois dictatorship.

At the same time the international political situation of Soviet Russia—the only country where the proletariat has conquered the bourgeoisie and has retained its power during five long years that it has been withstanding the attacks of its enemies—has become considerably stronger.

At the conferences of Genoa and Hague, the Entente capitalists tried their best to force Russia to abandon the nationalisation of industry and to burden Russia with such a debt as would have converted the Soviet Republic into an Entente

colony. The Russian Proletarian State, however, was strong enough to resist this attempt. Amidst the chaos of the collapsing capitalist system, Russia stands—from Beresina to Vladivostok, from Murmansk to the mountains of Armenia—as a growing Power in Europe and the Near and Far East. Despite the attempt of a capitalist world to ruin Russia by a financial blockade, it is in a condition to proceed with its economic reconstruction. To this end, it will use its own economic resources as well as make use of the rivalry of the various capitalist States, which will lead to some of them being compelled to enter into relationship with her.

One-sixth of the globe is now under the rule of Soviets. Already the existence of the Russian Soviet Republic has a weakening influence upon bourgeois society, and it is a powerful factor in the world revolution. The more Soviet Russia is economically restored and strengthened, the greater will be the influence of this mighty revolutionary factor in international politics.

IV. The Capitalist Offensive.

Owing to the fact that the proletariat of all countries, with the exception of Russia, did not take advantage of the weakened state of capitalism to deal it the final crushing blows, the bourgeoisie—thanks to the aid of the social-reformists—managed to suppress the militant revolutionary workers, to reinforce its political and economic power and to start a new offensive against the proletariat. All the attempts of the bourgeoisie to re-establish the international production and distribution of commodities after the storms of the world war, have been made solely at the expense of the workers. The systematically organised attack of world capitalism upon all the achievements of the working class has spread like wild-fire to all countries. Organised capital everywhere relentlessly carried out the policy of cutting down the real wages of the worker, of prolonging the working day and of curtailing the most moderate rights of the workers in the industries. In the countries with a depreciated valuta, capitalism is compelling the destitute workers to bear the brunt of the economic crisis caused by the depreciation of money, and so forth.

The capitalist offensive, which of late has assumed gigantic proportions, compels the workers of all countries to adopt measures of self-defence. Tens of thousands of workers employed in the chief industries were brought into the fray. The fight was joined again by new groups of workers engaged in the most essential industries (railway workers, miners, metal workers, state and municipal employees).

The majority of these strikes have hitherto failed to bring immediate success. But this struggle was for the new groups of hitherto conservative workers a good training in implacable hatred towards the capitalists and towards the governments which openly defend the capitalists. These fights, forced

upon the proletariat, destroy the policy of co-operation which the employers preached by the social-reformists and the trade union bureaucrats. These fights demonstrate even to the most backward elements of the proletariat the manifest connection between economics and politics.

Every big strike assumes to-day the importance of a great political event. In these struggles the parties of the Second International and the leaders of the Amsterdam International, far from lending aid to the working masses in their hard struggles, have even directly left them in the lurch and betrayed them to the capitalists and to the bourgeois governments.

It is one of the tasks of the Communist Parties to expose this continuous and unparalleled treachery, and to bring it to light in the daily struggles of the working masses. It is the duty of the Communist parties of all countries to widen the scope of the numerous economic strikes that frequently break out, to deepen them and, wherever, possible, to lead them on to political strikes and combats. It is also the self-evident duty of the Communist parties to take advantage of the defensive struggles to so strengthen the revolutionary consciousness and militancy of the working masses that these struggles, given the proper forces, might turn the defensive into an offensive. The widening of the scope of these struggles by no means stultifies the systematically increasing antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The situation remains objectively revolutionary, and the slightest outbreak may become to-day the point of issue for great revolutionary struggles.

V. The International Fascism.

Closely allied with the capitalist offensive in the economic field, is the political offensive of the bourgeoisie against the working class, which finds its expression in International Fascism. In view of the fact that the general impoverishment affects also the middle class, including the State officials, the ruling classes can no longer depend on the bureaucracy as an absolutely reliable tool. This causes the bourgeoisie everywhere to create special white guards, directed against all the revolutionary aims of the proletariat, to crush in most brutal fashion every attempt of the workers to improve their position.

The salient features of the Italian Fascism—that “classical” Fascism which has now taken possession of that country for some time—consists of the fact that the Fascists, not content with establishing their own counter-revolutionary militant organisations armed to the teeth, seek also to gain ground by social demagogy, among the masses of the peasantry, among the lower bourgeoisie and even among certain elements of the working class, in order to make use of the general disappointment with so-called democracy.

The menace of Fascism lurks to-day in many countries—

in Czecho-Slovakia, in Hungary, in nearly all the Balkan countries, in Poland, in Germany (Bavaria), in Austria and America, and even in countries like Norway. Fascism in one form or another is not altogether impossible even in countries like France and England.

One of the most important tasks of the Communist parties is to organise the resistance to International Fascism, to take the lead in the struggle of all the workers against the Fascist bands, and vigorously to carry the tactics of the United Front into this field of activity, where the methods of illegal organisation are an absolute necessity.

The Fascist organisation is the last card of the bourgeoisie. The unbridled fury of the white guards is directed also against the foundations of bourgeois democracy as a whole. This fact brings home to the working masses the conviction that the domination of the bourgeoisie cannot be maintained otherwise than by undisguised dictatorship over the proletariat.

VI. The Possibility of New Pacifist Illusions.

The international political situation of the present moment is characterised by Fascism, martial law and the rising tide of white terror against the working class. This, however, by no means precludes the possibility of the bourgeois reaction making the attempt in the near future, to assume the pose of "democratic pacifism" in the more important countries. Such a transitional form of "democratic pacifism" is likely to occur in England (strengthening of the Labour Party at the last elections), in France (the inevitable period of the so-called "Left Bloc"), and there is also a possibility of a revival of pacifist hopes in bourgeois and social-democratic Germany. Between the present period of the domination of undisguised bourgeois reaction and the complete victory of the revolutionary proletariat over the bourgeoisie, there is a possibility of various intervening stages and transitional episodes. The Communist International and its sections must bear in mind such eventualities, and prepare for the defence of the revolutionary positions under all circumstances.

VII. The Situation within the Labour Movement.

During this period, when the working class is put on the defensive against capital, we see the rapprochement and the eventual amalgamation of the centrist parties (Independents) with the undisguised social-traitors (Social-Democrats). During the revolutionary upheaval the Centrists, under pressure of the masses, were constrained to shout for the proletarian dictatorship and to seek the way to the Third International. With the temporary receding tide of the revolution, the Centrists fell back again into the social-democratic ranks, from which they never really departed. Having always maintained a hesitating and wavering attitude in times of revolutionary mass struggles, they now desert the workers in the defensive struggle and betake themselves again to the Second Inter-

national, which has always been consistently anti-revolutionary. The Centrist parties and the whole of the Centrist Two-and-a-Half International are now in a state of flux. The best part of the revolutionary workers which was temporally in the Centrist camp, is bound to come eventually into the Communist International. In some places it has already begun (Italy). On the other hand, the major part of the Centrist leaders, now in league with Noske, Mussolini, etc., are becoming the bitterest counter-revolutionaries.

Taken objectively, the amalgamation of the parties of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals can only benefit the revolutionary labour movement. The fiction of another revolutionary party outside of the Communist camp has now vanished. There will now be only two groups struggling for influence with the majority of the working class: the Second International which represents the influence of the bourgeoisie within the working class, and the Third International which holds aloft the banner of the Social Revolution and the Proletarian Dictatorship.

VIII. Splitting the Trade Unions and the Organisation of White Terror against the Communists.

The amalgamation of the parties of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals has the undoubted task of preparing a "favourable atmosphere" for a systematic campaign against the Communists. Part of this campaign is the systematic splitting of the trade unions by the leaders of the Amsterdam International. The Amsterdam leaders shrink from any fight against the capitalist offensive, and they continue in their policy of co-operation with the employers. To avoid being hindered by the Communists in their alliance with the employers, they endeavour systematically to banish the influence of the Communists from the trade unions. Nevertheless, the Communists in many countries have already won a majority, or are on the point of winning a majority, in the trade unions, in spite of these tactics, and the Amsterdam leaders do not shrink from mass expulsions nor from formally splitting the trade unions. Nothing so weakens the resistance of the proletariat against the capitalist offensive as the splitting of the trade unions. Of this the reformist leaders of the trade unions are well aware, but seeing the inevitable end of their influence, they hasten to disrupt the unions, the only instrument of the proletarian class struggle, in order to leave to the Communists a legacy of broken fragments of the old trade union organisations. No darker betrayal of the working class has been known since August, 1914.

IX. The Task of Winning the Majority.

Under such circumstances the guiding principle of the Third World Congress—"to obtain Communist influence within the majority of the working class, and to bring the most effective sections of this class into the struggle"—re-

mains in full force. Now, even more so than at the time of the Third Congress, one may assert that under the present unstable conditions of the bourgeois order a sharp crisis may be upon us at any time, either as the consequence of a big strike, a colonial rising, a new war, or even of a parliamentary crisis. It is precisely for this reason that the "subjective" factor, viz., the degree of organisational preparedness and of the class consciousness of the workers and of their vanguard, becomes extremely important. Now, as never before, it is the principal task of the Communist International to win the majority of the working class of Europe and America.

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries the task of the Communist International is twofold. Firstly, to establish and consolidate nuclei of Communist parties which will stand up for the interests of Communism as a whole, and, secondly, to give the utmost support to the national revolutionary movement directed against imperialism, and to become the vanguard of the movement, arousing and developing the social movement within the national movement.

X. The United Front Tactics.

The foregoing shows the imperative need of the tactics of the United Front. The slogan of the Third Congress, "To the Masses!" is now more important than ever. The struggle for the United Front is only beginning, and it will no doubt occupy a whole period in the international labour movement. The best illustration is furnished by France, where the march of events has convinced even those who but recently were the principal opponents of these tactics to become now its ardent adherents. The Communist International calls upon all Communist parties and groups to carry out to the full the tactics of the United Front, which are the only means of winning over the majority of the workers to the Communist side.

The reformists are now looking for a split. The Communists are interested in bringing about the closest union of all the forces of the working class against capitalism.

The tactics of the United Front imply the leadership of the Communist vanguard in the daily struggles of the large masses of the workers for their vital interests. In these struggles the Communists are even ready to parley with the treacherous leaders of the social-democrats and of Amsterdam. It is obviously our duty to make the most unequivocal denial of the allegations made by the Second International misrepresenting the United Front as the organisational amalgamation of all the "labour parties." The attempts of the Second International to win over the more advanced labour organisations under the cloak of the United Front (amalgamation of the social-democrats and independents in Germany), are in reality nothing but an opportunity for the social democratic leaders to deliver some other parts of the working masses into the hands of the bourgeoisie.

The existence of independent Communist parties and their complete freedom of propaganda against the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary social-democracy is the most important historical conquest of the proletariat, and one which the Communists should not give up under any circumstances. The Communist parties are the only fighters for the interests of the proletariat as a whole.

The tactics of the United Front should by no means imply the forming of "electoral combinations" of leaders for the pursuit of certain parliamentary aims. The tactic of the United Front is the call for the united struggle of Communists and of all other workers, either belonging to other parties and groups, or belonging to no party whatever, for the defence of the elementary and vital interests of the working class against the bourgeoisie. Every struggle, even for the most trifling everyday demand, is a source of revolutionary education and revolutionary training; for the experiences of the struggle will convince the workers of the inevitability of revolution and of the importance of Communism.

A specially important task in carrying out the United Front is to achieve not only agitational but also organisational results. No opportunity should be omitted of creating organisational points of support within the working masses themselves (industrial councils, controlling committees composed of workers of all parties, or belonging to no party, committees of action, etc.).

The most important thing in the tactics of the United Front is and remains the agitational and organisational unification of the working masses. The real success of the United Front tactics is to come from "below," from the depth of the working masses themselves. At the same time, the Communists should not decline, under given circumstances, to negotiate with the leaders of the workers' parties in opposition to us. But the masses must be constantly and completely kept informed of the course of these negotiations. Even during such negotiations the Communist Party should not in any way circumscribe the independence of its agitation.

It stands to reason that the tactics of the United Front should be applied in the different countries in various forms, in accordance with actual circumstances. But in the most important capitalist countries, where the objective circumstances are ripe for the social revolution, and where the social-democratic parties—led by counter-revolutionary leaders are deliberately working for the splitting of the workers' ranks, the tactics of the United Front may be the starting-point for a new phase of the movement.

XI. The Workers' Government.

As a propagandist watchword the workers' government (and eventually of the workers' and peasants' government) is to be generally applied. But as an actual political watchword

the workers' government is the most important only in those countries where the bourgeois society is particularly very unstable and where the balance of power between the workers' parties and the bourgeoisie makes the decision on the question of government a practical necessity. In those countries the watchword of the workers' government is an unavoidable consequence of the United Front tactics.

The parties of the Second International in these countries endeavour to "save" the situation by propagating and bringing about coalition between the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats. The recent attempts of some of the parties of the Second International (for instance in Germany) to refuse to participate openly in such coalition government, and at the same time tacitly carry on a coalition policy, are nothing but a manoeuvre to keep the indignant masses quiet and to deceive them in the most cunning and shameful way. To such an open or disguised bourgeois social-democratic coalition, the Communists oppose a United Front of the workers, a coalition of all the workers' parties on the economic and political field for the struggle against the bourgeois power and for the ultimate overthrow of the latter. Through the united struggle of all the workers against the bourgeoisie, the entire State machinery is to get into the hands of the workers' government, thus consolidating the chief fortifications of the working class.

The most elementary tasks of a workers' government must consist in arming the proletariat, in disarming the bourgeois counter-revolutionary organisations, in introducing control of production, in putting the chief burden of taxation on the shoulders of the rich and in breaking down the resistance of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

Such a workers' government is only possible if it arises out of the struggle of the masses, and if it is based on the support of active workers' organisations involving the lowest strata of the oppressed working masses. A workers' government which is the outcome of parliamentary groupings, that is to say, which is of a purely parliamentary origin, may likewise become the cause of a revival of the revolutionary labour movement. It is self-evident that the formation of a real workers' government and the continued existence of such a government whose policy is revolutionary, must lead to a bitter struggle and eventually to civil war with the bourgeoisie. The very attempt of the proletariat to establish such a government is bound to meet immediately with the most stubborn resistance on the part of the bourgeoisie. Therefore the watchword of the workers' government is likely to unite the proletariat and initiate revolutionary struggles.

Under certain circumstances the Communists must be prepared to form a government jointly with the non-Communist workers' parties and organisations. But, they can do this only in case there is the assurance that this workers' govern-

ment will in good earnest carry on the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the above mentioned sense. Moreover, the Communists can participate in such a government only on the following conditions:—

(1) That participation in such a government must first have the consent of the Comintern.

(2) That the Communist representatives participating in such a government be under strict control of their party.

(3) That the said Communist members of the workers' government be in close contact with the revolutionary organisations of the working masses.

(4) That the Communist party maintains its own character and complete independence in its agitational work.

With all its advantages, the watchword of the workers' government has its perils just as that of the United Front. In order to avoid such perils the Communist parties must bear in mind that every bourgeois government is at the same time a capitalist government, but that not every workers' government is a really proletarian, i.e., a revolutionary instrument of the proletarian power.

The Communist International must anticipate the following possibilities:—

(1) A Liberal Workers' Government, such as existed in Australia, and likely to be formed in Great Britain in the near future.

(2) A Social-Democratic "workers' government" (Germany).

(3) A Workers' and Peasants' government—such a possibility exists in the Balkans, in Czecho-Slovakia, etc.

(4) A Workers' government in which Communists participate.

(5) A real proletarian Workers' government which the Communist Party alone can embody in a pure form.

The first two types are not revolutionary workers' government, but a disguised coalition between the bourgeoisie and anti-revolutionary groups. Such workers' governments are tolerated, at critical moments, by the weakened bourgeoisie, in order to dupe the workers as to the true class character of the State, or with the aid of the corrupt leaders to divert the revolutionary onslaught of the proletariat, and to gain time.

The Communists cannot take part in such governments. On the contrary, they must ruthlessly expose their true character to the masses. In this period of capitalist decline, when the main task is to win the majority of the proletarians for the proletarian revolution, such governments may serve as means to precipitate the destruction of bourgeois power.

The Communists are willing to make common cause also with those workers who have not yet recognised the necessity for proletarian dictatorship, with Social-Democrats, Christian Socialists, non-party and Syndicalist workers. Thus, the Communists are prepared, under certain conditions and with cer-

tain guarantees, to support a non-Communist workers' government. At the same time, the Communists say to the masses quite openly that it is impossible to establish a real workers' government without a revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The other two types of workers' government (workers' and peasants' government, and workers' government—with participation of Communists) are not proletarian dictatorships, nor are they historically inevitable transition forms of government towards proletarian dictatorship, but where they are formed may serve as starting points for the struggle for dictatorship. Only the workers' government, consisting of Communists, can be the true embodiment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

XIII. The Factory Councils' Movement.

No Communist party can be considered a bona fide, well organised Communist mass party if it has no well established Communist nuclei in the workshops, factories, mines, railways, etc. Under present conditions a movement cannot be considered as a systematically organised proletarian mass movement, if the working class and its organisations do not succeed in establishing factory councils as the backbone of the movement. Moreover, the struggle against the capitalist offensive and for the control of production will be hopeless if the Communists are without strong points of contact in all the industries and where the workers fail to create within the industries their own proletarian fighting organs (factory councils, workers' councils, etc.).

Therefore, the Congress deems it to be one of the chief tasks of all Communist parties to obtain a firmer foothold in the industries than has been the case hitherto, to support the factory councils movement or to take the initiative in the organisation of such a movement.

XIV. The Comintern as a World Party.

The Communist International must, to an increasing degree, and simultaneously with its establishment as an international party from the point of view of organisation, also act as an international party politically. It must control the political actions in whole groups of countries.

XV. International Discipline.

In order to carry out the United Front tactics internationally and in every individual country, the Comintern must insist more than ever on strict discipline within the sections, as well as on an international scale.

The Fourth Congress categorically demands of all its sections and members to observe strict discipline in carrying out the adopted tactics, which can be successful only if they are systematically applied in all the countries, not only in words, but in deeds.

The acceptance of the 21 conditions implies the carrying

out of all the tactical decisions of the world congresses and of the Executive, as the organ of the Comintern, in the period intervening between the world congress. The Congress instructs the Executive to demand and watch over the fulfilment of the tactical decisions by all the parties.

Only the well-defined revolutionary tactics of the Comintern can guarantee a speedy victory of the international proletarian revolution.

Theses on the United Front

Adopted by the E.C. in December, 1921, and to be added to the Resolution on Tactics passed by the Fourth Congress.

The New International Position.

1. The international Labour movement at the present time is passing through a peculiar transitional stage, which confronts the Communist International as a whole and also its constituent sections with new and important tactical problems. The fundamental characteristics of this stage are as follows: There is a heightening of the world economic crisis. Unemployment is increasing. In almost every country international capital has passed over to a systematic attack against the workers, expressing itself first of all in the cynically frank endeavours on the part of the capitalists to reduce wages and lower the whole standard of life of the workers. The bankruptcy of the Versailles peace is becoming increasingly evident to the widest masses. The inevitability of a new imperialist war, or even of several such wars, unless the international proletariat overthrows the capitalist structure, has become evident. This is eloquently confirmed by the proceedings at Washington.

The Move to the Left.

2. Under the pressure of reality the revival of reformist illusions, which, after being nearly overcome owing to the first complexion of events, had developed among a considerable section of the workers, has now begun to give way to a very different spirit. The "democratic" and reformist illusions of certain of the workers (partly the most privileged workers, and partly the most backward and least politically experienced), which arose anew after the cessation of the imperialist butchery, have faded before having had time to bloom. The course and the outcome of the further "labours" of the Washington Conference will deliver a still greater blow to these illusions. If half a year ago it was still possible to speak with some degree of truth of a kind of general move to the right on the part of the working masses in Europe and America, then at the present time, on the contrary, it is possible to affirm unconditionally the beginning of a move to the left.

Faith in the Communists.

3. On the other hand, under the influence of the ever-intensifying onslaught of capital, there has arisen amongst the workers an elemental, literally irresistible impulse towards unity, proceeding parallel with the gradual growth of faith of wide masses of workers in the Communists. Ever-enlarging circles of workers are now for the first time beginning to appreciate the bravery of the Communist vanguard, which threw itself into the struggle on behalf of the working-class interests at a time when the bulk of the workers remained indifferent or even hostile to Communism. Ever-enlarging circles of workers are now becoming convinced that only the Communists have been acting in protection of their economic and political interests, under most difficult circumstances and involving sometimes the greatest sacrifices. Accordingly, respect for the trust in the uncompromising Communist vanguard of the working class begins once more to show itself, now that even the more ignorant sections of the workers have seen the vanity of reformist hopes and have realised that, outside the class struggle, there is no salvation from the predatory campaign of capitalism.

Unity.

4. The Communist Parties now can, and should reap the reward of their struggle carried on earlier under the very unfavourable circumstances of indifference among the masses. But while there is developing an ever-increasing trust in the irreconcilable, fighting Communist elements of the working class, the mass of the workers as a whole are being moved by an unprecedented attraction for unity. New strata of little experienced workers, awakening into active political life, dream of the unity of all workers' parties and even of all workers' organisations in general, hoping thereby to strengthen resistance to the capitalist campaign. New strata of workers, who often have not previously taken part in the political struggle, are once again putting to the test of their own personal experience the practical plans of reformism. In addition to these numbers of workers, belonging to the old Social-Democratic Parties, cannot reconcile themselves with the campaign of the Social-Democrats and Centrists against the Communist vanguard. They are already beginning to demand agreement with the Communists. But they have still not outlived their faith in the reformists, and still largely support the Second and Amsterdam Internationals. These workers do not formulate their plans and intentions clearly enough, but in general their new disposition leads them to desire to reconstruct a common front and to try to make the parties and unions of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals fight by the side of the Communists against the capitalists' attack. In so far such a disposition is favourable to progress. In the nature of things faith in reformism has been shattered. In the pre-

sent circumstances in which the working-class movement finds itself, every serious mass advance, even if beginning only with partial slogans, inevitably involves in its course the more general root questions of revolution. The Communist vanguard can conquer only if the new strata of workers convince themselves from their own personal experience of the illusory nature of reformism and of the evils of class peace.

The Revolutionary Protest.

5. At the first beginning of the development of a conscious and organised protest against the treachery of the leaders of the Second International, the latter held in their hands the whole apparatus of working class organisation. They used the principle of unity and proletarian discipline in order mercilessly to gag the voice of revolutionary proletarian protest and to hand over without opposition all the power of the workers' organisations to the service of national imperialism. Under these conditions the revolutionary wing had to win for itself at all costs freedom of agitation and propaganda, i.e., freedom to explain to the masses the unparalleled historical betrayal which the parties and trade unions, called into being by the workers themselves, have been and are still perpetrating.

New Form of Old Treachery.

6. Complete liberty of action having been secured in respect of organisation to ensure agitation by ideas amongst the workers, Communists in all countries are now seeking to secure widespread and integral unity of action amongst the workers. The heroes of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals preach unity in words, but in fact act to the contrary. The social-peace reformists of Amsterdam, having failed to suppress by their organisation the voice of protest, criticism and revolutionary appeal, are now trying to get out of the blind alley into which they have brought themselves by introducing splits, disorganisations and organised sabotage into the struggle of the working masses. One of the most important tasks for Communists at the present time lies in exposing by deeds this new form of the old treachery.

Reformist Treachery to Unity.

7. Deep-seated internal processes, which owe their inception to the general economic position of the working class in Europe and America, have lately, however, in turn forced the diplomats and leaders of the Second, Two-and-a-Half and Amsterdam Internationals to emphasise the question of unity on their part as well. But while for those strata of the workers who are newly awakening to conscious life and are still little tried, the cry of the United Front is the expression of a genuine and sincere desire to combine the forces of the oppressed classes against the assault of the capitalist class; on the other hand, for the leaders and diplomats of the Second, Two-and-a-Half and Amsterdam Internationals the proclamation of this motto is only a new attempt to dupe the workers and to in-

veigle them by a new method into the old meshes of class-collaboration. The imminent danger of a new Imperialist war (Washington), the growth of armaments, the conclusion behind the scenes of new secret imperialist treaties, all this not only does not cause the leaders of the Second, Two-and-a-Half and Amsterdam Internationals to sound the alarm, but on the contrary, will inevitably arouse in the Second and Amsterdam Internationals divisions on the whole of just such a type as exist in the camps of the international bourgeoisie. This phenomenon is inevitable, inasmuch as the corner-stone of reformism is solidarity of the reformist "Socialists" with the bourgeoisie of "their" country.

Such, then, are the general conditions under which the Communist International as a whole and its separate sections have to formulate their attitude to the call for a united Socialist front.

The United Workers' Front.

8. Considering this position, the Executive Committee of the Communist International finds that the watchword of the Third World Congress of the Communist International, "To the masses!" and the interests of the Communist movement in general, demand from the Communist Parties and from the Communist International as a whole support of the watchword of a united working-class front and the taking of the initiative in this question into their hands. To this end it is necessary, of course, to formulate the policy in concrete terms according to the conditions and circumstances obtaining in each country.

Germany.

9. In Germany the Communist Party at its last Congress supported the watchword of a united working-class front and recognised the possibility of supporting a "united working-class Government" which would be at all inclined to struggle seriously against capitalist power. The Communist International Executive considers this decision absolutely correct, and is confident that the German Communist Party, while fully maintaining its independent political position, will be able to penetrate into the widest masses of workers and to strengthen the influence of Communism among them. In Germany, more than in any other country, the masses of the workers are becoming convinced of the correctness of the Communists' attitude, when they refused to throw down their arms at the period of greatest difficulty, and persistently exposed the illusion of the reformist devices for weathering a crisis which could only be settled along the lines of proletarian revolution. In so far as the Party keeps to this method, it will attract also in time all the revolutionary Anarchist or Syndicalist democrats, who to-day are outside the struggle of the masses.

France.

10. In France the Communist Party contains the majority of the politically organised workers. This makes the question of the united front different in France from other countries, but the policy is essential here also in order that all responsibility for splitting the united working-class camp shall rest with our opponents. The French revolutionary trade unionists are quite justified in their stand against the dismemberment of the trade unionists—that is to say, in the fight for the unity of the workers in their economic struggle against the bourgeoisie. But the struggle of the workers does not end in the factory; unity is also necessary in the stand against the increase in the cost of living, against growing reaction, against imperialist politics, etc. The policy of reformists and centrists has, on the other hand, ended in a split in the party, and now threatens the unity of the trade union movement, which merely shows that Jouhaux, just as Longuet, is actually serving the bourgeoisie. The watchword of working-class unity, in the political fight, just as in the economic struggles against the bourgeoisie, remains the best method of nailing all plans for dismemberment to the pillory. Though the reformist Confederation Generale du Travail, led by Jouhaux, Merrheim and company, will betray the interests of the French working class at every step, it is nevertheless necessary that French Communists and the revolutionary elements of the French working class in general, at the beginning of each mass strike or revolutionary demonstration or other immediate activity on the part of the masses, should propose participation of the reformists in support of the workers' attack and systematically expose them when they refuse to assist in the revolutionary struggle of the workers. In this way we shall most easily win over the masses of non-party workers. Of course, this must not under any circumstances induce the French Communist Party to weaken its independence, as, for instance, by supporting any sort of "Left bloc" during election campaigns, or by adopting a lenient attitude to those wavering "Communists" who are still bewailing the split with the social-patriots.

England.

11. In England the reformist Labour Party has refused to accept the affiliation of the Communist Party on the same basis as that of other working-class organisations. Influenced by the growth of the tendency amongst the workers already referred to, the London Labour Party recently adopted a resolution in favour of the affiliation of the British Communist Party to the Labour Party. Of course England occupies an exceptional position in this matter, for under its peculiar conditions the Labour Party appears in the guise of a general unification of Labour forces. The task of the English Communists is to carry on an energetic campaign for affiliation.

The open treachery of the Trade Union leaders during the coal strike, the systematic capitalist attack on wages, etc.—all this has provoked a great agitation among the English proletariat, which is gradually becoming revolutionary. The English Communists should at all costs exert themselves to get among the mass of the workers with the watchword of the united working-class front against the capitalists.

Italy.

12. In Italy the young Communist Party, extremely implacable in its hostility to the reformist Italian Socialist Party and to the social-traitors of the Italian Confederation of Labour (which has recently just completed its treason to the proletarian revolution), is nevertheless beginning a vigorous agitation under the watchword of the united fighting front of the working class against the capitalist offensive. The Executive of the Communist International considers this agitation entirely correct and insists only that it shall be strengthened in the same direction. The Executive Committee of the Communist International is convinced that with sufficient foresight the Italian Communist Party will be able to give the whole International an example of militant Marxism in its work of unmasking the treason and hesitation of reformists and centrists, who have wrapped themselves in the cloak of Communism; it will also be capable of conducting a campaign for the workers' United Front against the bourgeoisie, penetrating with indefatigable energy and more and more persistence into the heart of the working masses. It is needless to say that the Party will do its utmost to attract to the struggle all the revolutionary elements in the ranks of the Anarchists and Syndicalists.

Czecho-Slovakia.

13. In Czecho-Slovakia the Communist party numbers in its ranks the majority of the politically organised workers, and thus its tasks, in some respects are analogous to those of the French Communists. While strengthening its independence and breaking its last links of organisation with the centrists, the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia must at the same time popularise in its country the watchword of the United Front of the working class against the bourgeoisie, and thereby finally expose in the eyes of even the most unenlightened workers the character of the social-democratic and centrist leaders, as in practice the agents of Capitalism. At the same time also the Communists of Czecho-Slovakia must strengthen their work for winning over the Trade Unions which are still largely in the hands of yellow leaders.

Sweden.

14. In Sweden, as the result of the last Parliamentary elections, a position has been created in which the small fraction of Communist deputies can play an important part. One of the chief leaders of the Second International, who is also Prime

Minister for the Swedish bourgeoisie, viz., M. Branting, finds himself at the present time in such a position that, for securing a Parliamentary majority, he cannot be indifferent to the attitude of the Communist fraction. The Executive Committee of the Communist International believes that, under certain conditions, the Communist fraction of the Swedish Parliament cannot refuse its support to the Menshevik ministry of Branting; just in the same way as the German Communists have already quite rightly done in certain of the provincial Governments of Germany (Thuringia and Saxony). This, however, does not mean at all that the Swedish Communists should in any respect infringe their independence or desist from exposing the character of the Menshevik Government. On the contrary, the more power the Mensheviks possess, the greater will be their betrayal of the working class, and consequently the greater the necessity for the Communists to exert themselves in exposing the Mensheviks before the widest masses of the workers. It should also be the duty of the Communist Party to attract the Syndicalist workers to join the fight against the bourgeoisie.

America.

15. In America a beginning has been made in uniting all the Left elements, both of the political and Trade Union movement; this gives the Communists the opportunity of taking a leading part in this process of the unification of the Left to penetrate right into the great masses of the American proletariat. By forming Communist groups everywhere where there are any Communists, American Communists ought to see to it that they take the lead in the movement to unite all revolutionary elements, and should now particularly advocate the watchword of the united working-class front in the fight for the unemployed, etc. The chief accusation against the Gompers Trade Unions should be that these will not join in the formation of a united front of the workers against Capitalism in defence of the unemployed, etc. The special task of the Communist Party nevertheless remains the organisation within its ranks of the best elements of the I.W.W.

Switzerland.

16. In Switzerland our Party has succeeded in achieving certain successes on the lines indicated. Thanks to the Communist agitation for a united revolutionary front, the Trade Union bureaucracy has been forced to call a special Trade Union Congress, which is soon to take place. The Communists at this conference will be able to expose before all the workers the lies of reformism, and to weld further together the revolutionary forces of the proletariat.

Other Countries.

17. In a whole series of other countries the question has different aspects depending on the different local conditions. The Executive Committee of the Communist International,

in making general observations, is confident that the Communist Parties will succeed in applying them in accordance with the circumstances obtaining in the given countries.

Communist Independence.

18. The Executive Committee of the Communist International counts as a primary and fundamental condition, of general application to the Communist Parties of all countries, that every Communist Party which enters into any agreement with parties of the Second or Two-and-a-Half Internationals should retain absolute independence and complete autonomy for the expression of its views and for the criticism of its opponents. Imposing on themselves a discipline of action, it is obligatory that Communists should preserve for themselves, not only up to and after action, but if necessary even during action, the right and possibility of expressing their opinion on the policy of all working-class organisations, without exception. The rejection of this condition is not permissible under any circumstances. While supporting the watchword of the maximum unity of all working-class organisations, Communists, in every practical action taken against the capitalist front, must not on any account refrain from putting forward their views, which are only the logical expression of the defence of the interests of the working class as a whole.

Russian Experience.

19. The Communist International Executive considers it useful to remind all fraternal parties of the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks, the only party so far which has succeeded in obtaining victory over its bourgeoisie, and taking power into its hands. In the course of the fifteen years which have elapsed since the birth of Bolshevism until its victory over the bourgeoisie (1903-1917), Bolshevism carried on an incessant struggle against reformism, or (what is the same thing) against Menshevism. But, nevertheless, during this period they more than once concluded agreements with the Mensheviks. A formal split with the Mensheviks occurred in the spring of 1905, however, under the influence of the impetuous Labour movement, the Bolsheviks had already organised a United Front with the Mensheviks. A second and final split was formally completed in January, 1912, but between 1905 and 1912 the split was replaced by unity and semi-unity in 1906-7, and again in 1910. These unifications and half-unifications were not only due to the ups and downs of fractional struggles, but also to the direct pressure of wide masses of workers who, newly awakened to active political life, demanded in essence the possibility of seeing by the light of their own experience whether the Menshevik policy was radically divergent from the path of revolution.

Before the new revolutionary revival after the Lena strikes, not long before the beginning of the imperialist war, there was observed among the masses of workers in Russia a specially

strong impulse to unity, which the diplomatic leaders of Russian Menshevism tried to utilise for their own ends, much in the same way as the leaders of the Second, Two-and-a-Half and Amsterdam Internationals are now doing. The Russian Bolsheviks did not answer that impulse to unity by the refusal of any and every kind of United Front. On the contrary, they countered the diplomatic game of the Mensheviks with the slogan "Unity from Below!"—i.e., unity of the working mass itself in the practical struggle of the workers' demands against capitalism. Experience proved that this was the only correct reply, and as a result of these tactics, the expression of which varied according to the special conditions of the time and the place, an enormous number of the best Menshevik workers were won over to the Communist side.

International Unity.

20. In issuing the watchword of the united working-class front and permitting agreements of separate sections of the Communist International with parties and groups of the Second, Two-and-a-Half and Amsterdam Internationals, the Communist International cannot naturally refuse to contract similar agreements on the international scale. The Executive Committee of the Communist International made a proposal to the Amsterdam International in connection with Famine Relief in Russia. It repeated the proposal in connection with the persecution of the workers under the White Terror in Spain and Jugo-Slavia. The Communist International is now making new proposals to the three other bodies in connection with the first results of the Washington Conference, which has shown that the working class is threatened by a new imperialist slaughter. The leaders of the Second, Two-and-a-Half and Amsterdam Internationals have shown, up to now, by their behaviour that when it comes to a question of practical action they in fact reject their own watchword of unity. In all such cases it is the duty of the Communist International as a whole, and of its constituent sections in particular to expose to the masses the hypocrisy of these reformist leaders who prefer unity with the bourgeoisie to unity with the revolutionary workers, and who remain, for instance, a part of the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, instead of organising the struggle against the imperialism of Washington, and so on. But the refusal of the leaders of the Second, Two-and-a-Half and Amsterdam Internationals to accept one or other of our practical suggestions will not cause us to give up the policy indicated, which is deeply rooted among the masses, and which we must persistently and systematically develop. Whenever our adversaries refuse to support any proposition for a united stand, the masses must be made to realise this, and thus learn who is actually responsible for destroying the workers' united front. Should our adversaries agree to the proposals, it will be our duty to inten-

sify the struggle gradually, and raise it to a higher level. In both instances every effort should be made to focus the attention of the masses on every incident in the struggle for the United front, and to interest them in the negotiations between the Communists and the other organisations.

Dangers of the United Front.

21. In putting forward the plan indicated, the Executive Committee of the Communist International warns all fraternal parties of the dangers which, under certain conditions, may be involved. Not all Communist Parties are sufficiently strong and homogeneous, not all have completely broken with centrist and semi-centrist ideology. Cases are possible where the advantage would go to the other side; tendencies are possible which in fact would signify the submergence and dissolution of the Communist Parties and groups into a shapeless united bloc. In order to carry out the indicated policy successfully for the cause of Communism, it is necessary that the Communist Parties which adopt the policy should themselves be strong and firmly welded together, and that their leadership should be distinguished by clear-cut thinking.

The Communist Right Wing.

22. Within the groups of which the Communist International is composed, we are justified in styling certain sections right and semi-centrist; there are undoubtedly tendencies which display ideas covering two directions: (a) Certain elements have in point of fact not yet completely broken with the ideology and methods of the Second International, they still cherish veneration for the former power of that organisation, and consciously or unconsciously seek means of agreeing with many of the Second International ideas, and consequently with bourgeois society. (b) Other elements in combating a merely formal radical outlook, and the errors of a so-called Left tendency, etc., are aiming at giving more flexibility and scope to the tactics of the new Communist Parties, so as to assure them the possibility of more rapid access to the ranks of the working masses. The rapid pace of the development of Communist Parties has sometimes been conducive to the association of two apparently different tendencies in one camp, that is to say in one and the same group. By carrying out the methods already mentioned, which are devised to lend Communist agitation a foundation in the united ranks of the proletariat, all real reformist tendencies will be brought to light. The strict application of these tactics will greatly facilitate the revolutionary unity of the Communist Parties, in so far as the impatient Left Wing elements or sections will be taught by experience, and the Party will be freed from the dead weight of the reformists.

Unity with the Anarcho-Syndicalists.

23. The "united working-class front" should be understood to include the unity of all workers imbued with the will to fight Capitalism, including those workers still belonging to the Syndicalist and Anarchist movements, etc. The number of

such workers is still considerable in the Latin countries. In other countries they can also help in the revolutionary struggle. From the very beginning the Communist International has adopted a friendly attitude towards these working-class elements, who are gradually discarding their prejudices and inclining towards Communism. At the present moment Communists should devote the more attention to them, just as the workers' united front against Capitalism becomes a reality.

Meeting of the Communist International.

24. For a general definition of the work to be accomplished on the lines indicated the Executive of the Communist International has decided to summon in the near future an extended session of the Executive of the Communist International with representation of all parties in double proportion.

Reports to the Communist International.

25. The Executive of the Communist International will diligently follow each practical step taken in the indicated sphere of action, and it asks all parties to communicate to it all details of attempts and achievements on the lines of this policy.

RESOLUTION ON The Versailles Treaty

The World War ended with the overthrow of these imperialist powers—Germany, Austria Hungary and Russia. Four large imperialist countries came out victorious from the struggle—the United States of America, England, France and Japan.

The Peace Treaties which centre around the Versailles Peace Treaty represent an attempt to consolidate the rule of these four victorious nations politically and economically by reducing the rest of the world to the state of colonial territories for exploitation; socially, by securing the domination of the bourgeoisie over its own proletariat and against the victorious revolutionary proletariat of Soviet Russia by a union of the bourgeoisie of all countries. For that purpose they erected a barrier of small vassal States ready to strangle Soviet Russia at the first opportunity. Besides this, the burden of war costs incurred by the victorious countries was placed wholly upon the defeated nations.

To-day it is clear to everybody that the assumptions on which the peace treaties were built were incorrect. The attempt to establish a new equilibrium on a capitalist basis has failed. The history of the last four years shows a continuous fluctuation of conditions, a constant uncertainty: economic crises, unemployment, increased hours of work, ministerial Party and foreign crises follow each other. The imperialist powers attempted to conceal the disruption of the world system

brought about by the peace treaties and the bankruptcy of the Peace of Versailles by an endless series of conferences.

The attempts to overthrow the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia have failed. The proletariat of all capitalist countries appears more and more in favour of Soviet Russia. Even the leaders of the Amsterdam International must acknowledge that the fall of the proletarian rule in Russia would mean the victory of the world reaction over the whole proletariat.

Turkey, as outpost of the uprising Orient, has successfully opposed the carrying out of the peace treaty by force of arms. An important part of the peace treaty is being solemnly buried at the Lausanne Conference.

The continuous economic crisis in the whole world proves that the economic conceptions underlying the Versailles Treaty are without foundation.

Without the restoration of Germany and Russia, England, the leading European imperialist power which is greatly dependent upon world trade, cannot consolidate its industries. The strongest imperialist power, the U.S.A., turned its back upon the peace treaty, and is attempting to erect its world imperialism independent of Europe. In this it is supported by important sections of the British Empire—Canada and Australia.

The oppressed colonies of England, the basis of its world power, are rebelling; the whole Mahomedan world is in a state of open or latent revolt.

All the provisions of the Peace Treaty have become void, except the one that the bourgeoisie of all countries have been able to shift the burden of the war and the Peace Treaty upon the proletariat.

France.

Apparently France, above all other victorious States, has increased her power. In addition to the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, the occupation of the left bank of the Rhine, and her claim to many unpaid billions of German indemnities, France has actually become the strongest military power of the European Continent. With its vassal states, whose armies are trained and led by French generals (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania) with its own large army, with its fleet of submarines and its squadrons of aeroplanes, it rules the Continent; it is the guardian of the Versailles Peace Treaty. But the economic basis of France, its diminishing population, its ever-growing home and foreign debts, and the resultant dependence upon England and America, gives sufficient foundation for her boundless imperialist desires of expansion. Politically, she finds herself hemmed in by England's control of the most important seaports and the Anglo-American monopoly of petroleum. Economically her increased possession of iron ore is rendered worthless because the coal

necessary for its exploitation remains in Germany, in the Ruhr. She had hoped to bring order into her disturbed finances by means of the German reparations payments. All financial experts agree that Germany cannot pay the sums necessary to stabilise French finances. The only way that remains open to the French bourgeoisie is the reduction of the standard of living of the French proletariat to the level of that of the German. The hunger suffered by the German workers will to-morrow be suffered by the French proletariat. The deliberate depreciation of the franc by certain circles of the French heavy industry will be the means to shift the burden of the war upon the French proletariat after the Versailles Peace Treaty has proved useless.

England.

Thanks to the World War, England has been able to unite its colonial empire from the Cape to Egypt, Arabia and India. The most important entrances to the world seas have remained in her possession. By concessions to her Anglo-Saxon colonies, she is attempting to create an Anglo-Saxon world empire.

In spite of the adaptability of the British bourgeoisie, and its determined attempts to conquer the world market, it became apparent that the conditions created by the Versailles Treaty made the further progress of England impossible. England cannot maintain its existence as long as Germany and Russia have not been economically restored. This sharpens the conflict between France and England. England wants to send her goods to Germany, but is prevented by the Versailles Treaty; France wishes to obtain from Germany greater sums for reparations, which, of course, destroys the purchasing power of Germany. This is why England demands the reduction of the reparations. France conducts a masked war against England in the Near East in order to force her to yield on the reparations question. While the proletariat of England is paying for the war in the form of unemployment, the bourgeoisie of France and England always unite at the cost of Germany.

Central Europe and Germany.

The most important object of the Versailles Peace Treaty is Central Europe, the new colony of the imperialist predatory States. Broken up into a countless number of small countries incapable of independent economic existence, which, of course, cannot conduct an independent policy, they have sunk down to colonies of French and English capital. They are incited against each other according to the changing interest of the large Powers. Czecho-Slovakia, cut off from a unified economic territory of 60 million people, is in a state of chronic crisis. Austria has shrunk down to a dying State, which maintains its political independence only on account of the conflicting desires of her neighbours. Poland, which received a great number of foreign territories, has become one of the

outposts of France, a caricature of French imperialism. In all these countries the proletariat is paying for the war in the form of a lowered standard of living and great unemployment.

But the most important object of the Versailles Peace Treaty is Germany. Disarmed, robbed of every possibility of self-defence, it has been delivered to the mercy of the imperialist powers. The German bourgeoisie attempt to unite her interests, now with the bourgeoisie of England, and now with other friends. By intensified exploitation of the German proletariat, it is attempting to satisfy some of the demands of France and, at the same time, to obtain foreign help to secure its rule over the German proletariat. But even the extensive exploitation of the German proletariat and its subjection to the rôle of a European colony, as a result of the Versailles Peace Treaty, do not make it possible for Germany to pay the reparations. Germany has become the football of England and France. The French attempt to solve the question forcibly by the occupation of the Ruhr. England opposes this move. Only the interference of the greatest economic power of the world, the United States, will make it possible to conciliate the conflicting interests of France, England and Germany.

United States of America.

The United States of America has turned its back on the Versailles Treaty, and refused to ratify it. The United States which has come out of the war as the strongest industrial and political power of the world, to whom every imperialist European power is deeply indebted, shows no desire to stabilise French finances by any large credit to Germany. American capital is turning away from the European chaos, and is attempting to create its own colonial empire in Central and South America and in the Far East, and to secure the exploitation of the home market for its own ruling class by means of a high protective tariff. But while it is not interesting itself in the fate of Europe, it is coming into the conflict with the interest of England and Japan in the Far East. Through its economic power, the United States forced the other imperialist powers to come to the Washington Disarmament Conference. In this way it destroyed one of the most important bases of the Versailles Treaty—the supremacy of England on the seas—and broke up the alignment of power resulting from the Treaty.

Japan and the Colonies.

The youngest imperialist world power, Japan, is keeping away from the European chaos created by the Treaty of Versailles. But her interests are greatly affected by the rise of the United States to a world power. In Washington it was forced by the United States to dissolve its alliance with England, whereby another provision of the Treaty was rendered ineffec-

tive. At the same time, not only are the oppressed peoples rebelling against the rule of England and Japan, but the Anglo-Saxon colonies of Britain seek to protect their interests in the coming conflict between the United States and Japan by a closer union with the United States. The frame of British Imperialism is being more and more shaken.

The New War.

The attempt of imperialist powers to create a firm basis for the domination of the world has failed on account of their conflicting interests. The great edifice lies in ruins. The large powers and their vassals are preparing for a new war. Militarism is stronger than ever. Although the bourgeoisie is oppressed by the fear that a new proletarian revolution might follow in the wake of another war, the laws of capitalist society are driving inevitably towards a new world conflict.

The Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals confine their efforts to supporting the radical wing of the bourgeoisie which represents primarily the trading and banking interests, in its weak fight for the reduction of the reparation payments. As in every other problem, they are working hand in glove with the bourgeoisie. The task of the Communist Parties, and, first of all, those of the victorious countries, is to show clearly to the masses that the Versailles Treaty shifts all the burdens of the war, in the victorious as well as the defeated countries upon the shoulders of the proletariat, that the proletariat is the real victim of this bourgeois peace treaty. On this ground, the Communist Parties, primarily those of Germany and France, should conduct a common fight against the Versailles Treaty. The German Communist Party must declare the willingness of the German proletariat to help the workers and peasants of Northern France to rebuild their destroyed homes; at the same time it should conduct an intense struggle against its own bourgeoisie, which, in agreement with the French bourgeoisie, is conducting its policy of "fulfilment" at the cost of the German proletariat, and is willing to see Germany reduced to a French colony as long as their own class interests are insured thereby. The French Communist Party must fight against the imperialism of its bourgeoisie, against the intensified exploitation of the German proletariat to enrich the French bourgeoisie, against the occupation of the Ruhr, against the partition of Germany. To-day it is not sufficient in France to fight against the social patriots; we must combat the Versailles Treaty at every opportunity. It is the task of the Communist Party of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and the other vassal countries of France to combine the struggle against the bourgeoisie with the fight against French imperialism. We must convince the French and German proletariat by means of joint campaigns, that the attempt to carry out the

Versailles Treaty would plunge the proletariat of both countries, and with them the proletariat of the whole of Europe into the deepest misery.

RESOLUTION ON The Geneva Treaty

To the Workers of All Countries :

The Austrian proletariat is at present engaged in a severe conflict against the enslaving designs of world capital and reaction, which deserves the attention of the workers of all countries. On the pretext of preparing to prop up the collapsing Austrian economy, the League of Nations—particularly England, France, Czecho-Slovakia and Italy, and also certain small states in league with the Austrian ruling class, wish to rob the Austrian proletariat of the last shreds of its liberty, and even to destroy bourgeois democracy and erect in its place an open and brutal dictatorship of native and foreign capital.

Those countries which pose as the saviours of Austria, do not intend to give her any real help. They will not lend Austria a penny. They will only allow Austria to seek out individual capitalists willing to lend Austria certain sums, and who will undertake to get their respective parliaments next year to guarantee these credits. In return for this Austria—without any certainty as to whether they will really get these credits, or even these guarantees—engages to fetter her parliament for two years, in a worse manner than even in Hungary, to lay the burden of more than four billions in new taxes upon her working class, to lease her state monopolies to private capital, to discharge great numbers of workers, to lengthen the working hours, and to intensify the exploitation of the workers, to dissolve the proletarian militia and organise in its place the reactionary gendarmes and police who will maintain "tranquillity and order" by brutally suppressing the masses. Austria must permit itself to be reduced to the level of a colony of the lowest degree, without a protest. A Commissioner General of the League of Nations shall rule in Austria as absolute monarch, in whose hands the government, dictatorial in its powers over the masses, will be nothing more than a passive tool.

Workers of all countries !

The fulfilment of these plans, born of the Geneva Agreement, brings the Austrian working class to utter despair. The Austrian workers could easily prevent their own bourgeoisie from carrying out these plans, but the Austrian bourgeoisie is being supported by the capitalists of other countries, especially the capitalist governments of England, France, Italy and Czecho-Slovakia. Hence, it is your obvious duty to come to the aid of the Austrian workers and bring all possible pressure to bear upon your governments to prevent them from working

together with the Austrian capitalists to enslave and exploit Austria. That which your governments are now undertaking towards Austria is really nothing more than a war of conquest in which your governments have not yet considered it necessary to use armed warfare. And just as it would be your duty not to tolerate war, so it is your duty to struggle in every possible way against this war of extortion and attrition.

This is not merely in the interests of international solidarity; your own interests demand that you do all you can to oppose your government and aid the Austrian proletariat in its desperate struggle!

International capitalism attributes much importance to the enslavement of Austria, despite the smallness of the country, and this is not without cause. International reaction seeks to make of Austria an important base for action against the world proletariat and world revolution. In Austria the proletariat is still relatively very strong as compared with the bourgeoisie. The Austrian bourgeoisie has found itself compelled to preserve a certain amount of democratic freedom. Austria is also the only country in which the national armed forces are distinctly proletarian, and are not used against the working class. International reaction is greatly interested in the substitution of brutal capitalist dictatorship for the present false democracy. They thus wish to build up a reactionary force in Germany. If the plans matured by the Geneva Conference come to fruition, the English, French, Czecho-Slovakian and Italian working classes will soon feel the increased pressure from capitalistic reaction, the whole world over, which will have grown stronger and more secure. In the approaching decisive struggle between world reaction and world revolution, the former will have gained an important strategic base of support, a new and dangerous stronghold whose importance will be particularly great now after the victory of Fascism in Italy. The enslavement of the Austrian workers is only the first preparatory step towards a similar and much more dangerous oppression of the German workers which will have perilous consequences for the working class of the world. International capital understands why the bourgeoisie have become so presumptuous as to plan the cancellation of this democracy. Now the social democratic leaders claim that a struggle for the defence of democracy would expose the Austrian working class to the danger of death by starvation. But, the pressure of the working class was so strong that the social democrats had at least to make a pretence of fighting. They were compelled to launch a campaign in Austria fearing the possibility of success most of all. The Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals have called upon the workers of all countries to oppose the enslavement of Austria through the Geneva Agreement. But already the Austrian social democrats have given way and have abandoned even their sham battle. They are prepared to participate in the fulfilment of the Geneva Agreement by forming a masked coalition.

Workers of all countries! We knew then, and now know, that the leaders of the Austrian social-democracy and of the Two-and-a-Half International, now breathing its last, never intended serious battle. Your task is to prevent these mock heroes from giving up the struggle which they have been forced to undertake, before it is begun, and to transform their sham fight into a real struggle. Take these gentlemen at their word, show that you are ready to carry on the struggle, the necessity of which they have themselves emphasised, with all energy. Carry on the fight, and when these leaders try to forsake it, send out the call over their heads to the working masses to join together in a common irresistible campaign.

Workers of Austria! The workers of other lands can and must come to your help by hindering the capitalists of their countries in their assistance to the Austrian capitalists. It is for you, however, to carry on the decisive struggle against your bourgeoisie. You are strong enough for this, if you will only have the necessary determination. Do not let yourselves be deterred by your social democratic leaders from carrying on this fight against your complete enslavement with all possible force. You must realise that only the Communist Party of your country can show you the right way. Struggle all together, regardless of Party distinction, against our common danger.

Workers of all countries! And especially workers of France, England and Czecho-Slovakia! Assume the duty of proletarian solidarity towards the threatened Austrian working class. Your own interests and the interests of the world revolution depend upon this. Do not allow your governments to pursue their reactionary and predatory politics unhindered. Use all your powers to checkmate the plans of the international capitalist class. Tear the mask from the faces of the capitalist hypocrites who seek to fool you with democratic phrases while in Austria they are destroying the last remnants of democracy. Face them with your determined opposition, and let them know that you are a force to be reckoned with. The international capitalist front must be met by the international front of the revolutionary proletariat! Form the International United Front of the Proletariat!

Down with the Geneva Slave Treaty!

Down with World Reaction!

Long live International Proletarian Solidarity!

Long live the United Front of the International fighting Proletariat!

Long live the victory of the World Revolution!

Theses on Eastern Question

I. The Growth of the Revolutionary Movement in the East.

The Second Congress of the Communist International, basing itself on the work of Soviet Administration in the East and the growth of the Nationalist-Revolutionary movement in the colonies, outlined the principles of the nationalist-colonial question in the period of prolonged struggle between imperialism and the proletarian dictatorship.

Since that time the struggle against imperialist oppression in the colonies and semi-colonial countries has become considerably more acute as a consequence of the deepening post-war political and economic crises of imperialism.

Evidence of this is served by (1) the collapse of the Sevres Treaty on the partition of Turkey and the possibility of the complete restoration of the national and political independence of the latter; (2) the stormy growth of a nationalist-revolutionary movement in India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Morocco, China and Korea; (3) the hopeless internal crisis of Japanese imperialism giving rise to the rapid growth of elements of a bourgeois-democratic revolution in the country and the transition by the Japanese proletariat to independent class struggle; (4) the awakening of the labour movement in all countries of the East and the formation of Communist Parties almost in all parts of the East.

The facts enumerated above, indicate a change in the social basis of the revolutionary movement in the colonies. This change leads to the anti-militarist struggle becoming more acute; this struggle is no longer being led exclusively by the feudal classes, while the national bourgeoisie are preparing to compromise with imperialism.

The imperialist war of 1914-1918 and the prolonged crisis which followed it, particularly in Europe, has weakened the power of the Great Powers over the colonies. On the other hand, these same circumstances, in narrowing the economic bases and spheres of influences of world capitalism, has rendered imperialist rivalry for the colonies more acute, and in this way have disturbed the equilibrium of the whole world imperialist system (the fight for oil, Anglo-French conflict in Asia-Minor, the Japanese-American rivalry for the domination of the Pacific, etc.).

It is precisely this weakening of imperialist pressure in the colonies, together with the increasing rivalry between various imperialist groups, that have facilitated the development of native capitalism in the colonies and semi-colonial countries which are outgrowing the narrow and hampering framework of the domination of the imperialist Great Powers. Hitherto the capitalists of the Great Powers in maintaining their monopoly rights to secure excess profits from trade, industry and the taxation of backward countries, have striven to isolate

these from world economic intercourse. The demand for national and economic independence put forward by the nationalist movements in the colonies serves to express the needs of bourgeois development in these countries. The growth of native productive forces in these colonies, therefore, causes an irreconcilable antagonism of interests between itself and world imperialism; for the essence of imperialism consists in using the varying levels of development of productive force in various parts of the economic world for the purpose of extracting monopoly excess profits.

II. Conditions of the Struggle.

The backwardness of the colonies is reflected in the motley character of the Nationalist Revolutionary movements against imperialism, which, in their turn, reflect the varying states of transition from feudal and feudal-patriarchal relations to capitalism. This variety of conditions makes its impression upon the ideology of these movements. To the extent that capitalism in the colonial countries arises and develops from feudal bases in hybrid imperfect and intermediary forms, which gives predominance, above all, to merchant capitalism, the rise of bourgeois democracy from feudal-bureaucratic and feudal-agrarian elements proceeds often by devious and protracted paths. This represents the chief obstacle for successful mass struggles against imperialist oppression as the foreign imperialists in all the backward countries convert the feudal (and partly also the semi-feudal, semi-bourgeois) upper classes of native society into agents of their domination (military governors—Tutchuns—in China, the native aristocracy and tax farmers—the Zimendars and Talugdars in India, the feudal bureaucracy in Persia, the agrarian—planter capitalist formations in Egypt, etc.).

For that reason the dominant classes in the colonies and the semi-colonial countries are incapable and unwilling to lead the struggle against imperialism as this struggle is converted into a revolutionary mass movement. Only where the feudal-patriarchal system has not decayed to such an extent as to completely separate the native aristocracy from the mass of the people, as among the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples, can those upper classes take up the active leadership of the struggle against imperialist violence (Mesopotamia, Morocco, Mongolia).

In Moslem countries the nationalist movement at first expresses its ideology in religio-political watchwords of pan-Islamism, which enables diplomats and officials of the Great Powers to exploit the prejudices and ignorance of the masses of the people to combat this movement (British Imperialism's gains of pan-Islamism and pan-Arabism, the British plan of transferring the Khaliphate to India and the gambling of French imperialism with its "Moslem sympathies"). With the growth and expansion of the national liberation movement

the religio-political watchwords of pan-Islamism are substituted by concrete political demands. The struggle for the separation of the temporal power from the Khaliphate, which took place in Turkey recently is evidence of this.

The main task common to all national revolutionary movements is to bring about national unity and achieve political independence. The real and consistent solution of this depends on the extent to which the national movement in any particular country is capable of attracting to itself the toiling masses and break off all connection with the reactionary feudal elements, and include in its programme the social demands of the masses.

While being completely aware that the will of a nation for political independence in varying historical conditions can be expressed by the most diverse classes, the Communist International supports all national revolutionary movements against imperialism. At the same time it does not lose sight of the fact that only a consistent revolutionary line of policy based on the active support of the masses, and the unreserved break with all advocates of compromise with imperialism in the interests of maintaining class domination, can lead the oppressed masses to victory. The connection between the native bourgeoisie and the feudal reactionary elements enables the imperialists to make wide use of feudal anarchy, the rivalry between various leaders and tribes, the antagonism between town and country, the struggle between castes and national religious sects, etc., for the purpose of disorganising the popular movement (China, Persia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia).

III. Agrarian Question.

In the majority of countries in the East (India, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia) the agrarian question is of first-class importance in the struggle for emancipation from the domination of the despotism of the Great Powers. Exploiting and ruining the peasant majorities in the backward nations, imperialism deprives them of the elementary means of existence while the low development of industry scattered among a few junctional points in the country renders it impossible for it to absorb the superfluous agrarian population which at the same time has not means of emigrating. The peasants remaining on the land are pauperised and converted into serfs. While in the advanced countries prior to the war, industrial crises served as regulators of social production, this function in the colonies is performed by famine. Vitally interested in securing the greatest profits with the least expenditure of capital, imperialism strives all it can to maintain in the backward countries the feudal usurer form of exploiting labour power. In some countries like India, it assumes the monopoly rights of the native feudal State to the land, and converts the land tribute into feudal dues and the Zemindars and Talukdars into its agents. In other countries it extracts ground rent

through the native organisations of large landowners, as is the case in Persia, Morocco, Egypt, etc. The struggle for the emancipation of the land from feudal dues and feudal obstacles thus assumes the character of a struggle for national emancipation against imperialism and feudal large landownership. (Examples of this are the Moplah rising against the landowners and the British in India in the autumn of 1921 and the revolt of the Sikhs in 1922).

Only the agrarian revolution aiming at the expropriation of the large landowners can rouse the vast peasant masses destined to have a decisive influence in the struggle against imperialism. The fear of agrarian watchwords on the part of the bourgeois nationalists (India, Persia, Egypt) is evidence of the close ties existing between the native bourgeoisie with the large feudal and feudal-bourgeois landowners and their ideological and political dependence upon the latter. The hesitation and wavering of this class must be used by the revolutionary elements for systematic criticism and exposure of the lack of resolution of the bourgeois leaders of the nationalist movement. It is precisely this lack of resolution that hinders the organisation of the toiling masses, as is proved by the bankruptcy of the tactics of non-co-operation in India.

The revolutionary movement in the backward countries of the East cannot be successful unless it is based on the action of the masses of the peasantry. For that reason the revolutionary parties in all Eastern countries must define their agrarian programme, which should demand the complete abolition of feudalism and its survivals expressed in the forms of large landownership and tax farming. In order that the peasant masses may be drawn into active participation in the struggle for national liberation, it is necessary to proclaim the radical reform of the basis of landownership. It is necessary also to compel the bourgeois nationalist parties to the greatest extent possible to adopt this revolutionary agrarian programme.

IV. The Labour Movement in the East.

The young labour movement in the East is a product of the development of native capitalism during the last few years. Hitherto the working class in the East, even its fundamental nucleus, has been in a state of transition, on the path from small handicraft to large capitalist industry. In so far as the bourgeois nationalist intelligentsia draws the revolutionary movement of the working class into the struggle against imperialism, this intelligentsia provides the leaders for the embryonic trade union organisations and their sections in the first stages of their development. In the first stages, these movements do not extend beyond the limits of the "common national" interests of bourgeois democracy (strikes against imperialist bureaucracy and administration in China and India). Frequently, as was already shown at the Second

Congress of the Comintern, representatives of bourgeois nationalism, exploiting the moral and political authority of Soviet Russia, and playing to the class instincts of the workers, clothed their bourgeois democratic strivings in "socialist" and "communist" forms, in order by these means—sometimes unconsciously to divert the embryonic proletarian organisations from the direct tasks of class organisations (the Eshil-Ordu, in Turkey, which painted pan-Turkism in Communist colours, the "State Socialism" advocated by some representatives of the Kuo Min-Tan in China).

In spite of this, the trade union and political movement of the working class in the backward countries has made considerable progress in recent years. The formation of independent proletarian class parties in almost all the Eastern countries, is a remarkable fact, although the overwhelming majority of these parties must still undergo considerable internal reorganisation in order to free themselves from amateurism and the forms of close circles and other defects. The fact that the Communist International estimated the potential importance of the labour movement in the East right from the very beginning, is a fact of colossal importance, as it is a clear expression of the real international unity of the proletariat of the whole world under the banner of Communism. The Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals, to this very day, have not found support in a single backward country precisely because they play the part of "servants" to European and American imperialism.

V. The General Tasks of the Communist Parties in the East.

While the bourgeois nationalists regard the labour movement merely from the point of view of its importance as a means for securing victory for themselves, the international proletariat regards the young labour movement of the East from the point of view of its revolutionary future. Under capitalism the backward countries cannot achieve modern technique and culture without paying enormous tribute in the form of barbarous exploitation and oppression for the advantage of the capitalists of the Great Powers. Alliance with the proletariat of advanced countries is dictated not merely by the interests of a common struggle against imperialism, but also by the fact that only by a victory of the proletariat of the advanced countries can the workers of the East obtain unselfish aid in the development of their productive forces. An alliance with the proletariat in the West will lay the path towards an International Federation of Soviet Republics. The Soviet system, for the backward nations, represents the least painful form of transition from primitive conditions of existence to the highest culture of Communism, destined to take the place of the capitalist method of production and distribution all over the world. This is proved by the experience of the development of the Soviet system in the liberated

colonies formerly comprising the Russian Empire. Only a Soviet form of administration is able to guarantee the consistent fulfilment of the agrarian peasant revolution. The specific conditions of agriculture in certain countries of the East (artificial irrigation) maintained in the past by a peculiar organisation of collective co-operation on a feudal-patriarchal basis and disrupted by predatory capitalism, demands also a State organisation of such a type as would be able systematically and in an organised manner to serve public needs. As a consequence of special climatic and historical conditions, the co-operation of small producers in the East is destined to play an important rôle in the transitional period.

The objective tasks of colonial revolutions exceed the limit of bourgeois democracy by the very fact a decisive victory is incompatible with the domination of world imperialism. While the native bourgeoisie and bourgeois intelligentsia are the pioneers of colonial revolutionary movements, with the entry of proletarian and semi-proletarian peasant masses into these movements, the rich bourgeoisie and bourgeois landlords begin to leave it as the social interests of the masses assume prominence. The young proletariat of the colonies is still confronted by a prolonged struggle over a whole historical epoch, a struggle against imperialist exploitation, and against its own ruling classes, striving to secure in its own hands the monopoly of all the advantages of industrial and cultural development and to maintain the masses of the toilers in their previous "primitive" state.

The struggle to secure influence over the peasant masses should prepare the native proletariat for the rôle of political leader. Only after having accomplished this preparatory work on its own training and that of the social classes closely allied to itself will it be possible to advance against bourgeois democracy, which, amidst the conditions of the backward East, bears a more hypocritical character than in the West.

The refusal of the Communists in the colonies to participate against imperialist oppression on the pretext of alleged "defence" of independent class interest, is opportunism of the worst kind calculated only to discredit the proletarian revolution in the East. Not less harmful must be recognised the attempt to isolate oneself from the immediate and everyday interests of the working class for the sake of "national unity" or "civil peace" with bourgeois democracy. The Communist and working-class parties in the colonies and semi-colonial countries are confronted by a two-fold task: on the one hand, to fight for the most radical solutions of the problems of bourgeois democratic revolution, directed to the conquest of political independence, and, on the other, to organise the workers and peasants to fight for their special class interest, during which they must take advantage of the antagonism existing in the nationalist bourgeois democratic camp. In putting forward special demands, these parties stimulate and

release revolutionary energy which finds no outlet in bourgeois liberal demands. The working class in the colonies and semi-colonial countries must know that only by deepening and extending the struggle against the imperialism of the Great Powers can its rôle as revolutionary leader be fulfilled. On the other hand, the economic and political organisation and the political training of the working class and the semi-proletarian classes will facilitate and extend the revolutionary scope of the struggle against imperialism.

The Communist Parties in the colonies and semi-colonial countries in the East, which are still in a more or less embryonic stage must take part in every movement that gives them access to the masses. At the same time, however, they must conduct an energetic campaign against the patriarchal and craft prejudices and bourgeois influences in the labour unions, in order to protect these embryonic organisations from reformist tendencies, and in order to convert them into mass fighting organisations. They must exert all their efforts to organise the numerous agricultural labourers and artisans of both sexes on the basis of defending their immediate everyday interests.

VI. The United Anti-Imperialist Front.

While in the West amidst the conditions of the transition period, which is a period of organised accumulation of strength, the watchword of the United Labour Front was put forward, in the colonial East it is at present necessary to put forward the watchword of a United Anti-Imperialist Front. The expediency of these tactics is dictated by the prospects of a prolonged struggle against world imperialism demanding the mobilisation of all revolutionary elements. This mobilisation becomes all the more necessary from the fact that the native ruling classes are inclined to make compromises with the foreign capitalists directed against the fundamental interests of the masses of the people. Just as the watchword of the United Labour Front in the West facilitates the exposure of the social-democratic betrayal of the interests of the proletariat, so the watchword of the United Anti-Imperialist Front will facilitate the exposure of the wavering and hesitation of certain bourgeois nationalist groups in the East. This watchword will also help to develop the revolutionary will and to make more definite the class consciousness of the masses of the toilers and bring them into the front ranks of the struggle, not only against imperialism, but against all survivals of feudalism.

The labour movement in the colonies and semi-colonial countries must first of all secure for itself the position of an independent factor in the common Anti-Imperialist Front. Only on the basis of recognition of this independence and the maintenance of complete independence is a temporary agreement with bourgeois democracy permissible and necessary. The proletariat must support and put forward partial demands, such as independent democratic republic, abolition of all feudal

rights and prejudices, and the enfranchisement of women, etc., in view of the fact that the present correlation of forces does not permit it to carry out its Soviet programme. At the same time, it must strive to put forward such demands as will assist in establishing the closest possible contact between the peasantry and semi-proletarian masses and the labour movement. To explain to the masses of the toilers the necessity for an alliance with the international proletariat and the Soviet Republics is one of the most important tasks of the tactics of the Anti-Imperialist Front. The colonial revolution can be victorious and defend its gains only in conjunction with the proletarian revolution in the advanced countries.

The danger of an agreement being arrived at between the bourgeois nationalists and one or several of the rival imperialist powers in the semi-colonial countries (China, Persia), or in countries striving to secure political independence by exploiting the rivalry between the imperialists (Turkey), is greater than in the colonies. Such an agreement would signify an irrational division of power between the native ruling classes and the imperialists, and, under the cloak of a formal independence, will leave the country in the same position of a buffer semi-colonial state subordinate to world imperialism.

Recognising the permissibility and inevitability of partial and temporary compromises for the purpose of securing a respite in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, the working class must, however, irreconcilably resist every attempt at avowed or tacit division of power between the imperialists and the native ruling classes, aiming at the preservation by the latter of their class privileges. The demand for a close alliance between the proletariat and Soviet Republics serves as the banner of the United Anti-Imperialist Front. Simultaneously with the advocacy of this demand, a most determined struggle must be conducted for a most democratic political regime, in order to undermine the power of the most politically and socially reactionary elements and preserve the freedom of organisation for the toilers in their struggle for their class interests (the demand for democratic republics, agrarian reforms, reforms of taxation, the basis of wide self-government, labour legislation, the protection of child labour, the protection of mothers and infants, etc.). Even in independent Turkey the working class does not enjoy the freedom of organisation, and this may serve as a typical example of the attitude of the bourgeois nationalists towards the proletariat.

VII. The Tasks of the Proletariat on the Pacific Coast.

The necessity for the establishment of an Anti-Imperialist Front is dictated also by the constant growth of imperialist rivalry. This rivalry has assumed to-day such acute forms that a fresh world war, the arena of which will be the Pacific Ocean, is inevitable unless an international revolution forestalls it.

The Washington Conference was an attempt to obviate this danger, but, as a matter of fact, it succeeded only in rendering the antagonisms between the imperialists more profound and acute. The recent conflict between Wu-Pai-Fu and Chang-Tso-Lin in China was a direct consequence of the failure of Japanese and Anglo-American capitalism to harmonise their interests at Washington. The new world war, which menaces the world will affect not only Japan, America and England, but also other capitalist Powers (France, Holland, etc.) and threatens to be even more destructive than the war of 1914-1918.

The task of the Communist Parties in the colonial and semi-colonial countries on the Pacific Coast is to conduct an extensive propaganda to explain to the masses the oncoming danger, to call upon them to take up an active struggle for national liberation and to teach them to regard Soviet Russia as the bulwark of all the oppressed and exploited masses.

The Communist Parties in the imperialist countries, America, Japan, England, Australia and Canada, in view of the threatening danger, must not limit themselves merely to a propaganda against war, but must exert all their efforts to remove all the disrupted factors from the labour movement in their respective countries and to prevent the capitalists taking advantage of national and racial antagonisms.

This factor is the immigration question and cheap coloured labour.

The system of indentured labour, to this very day is the main system of recruiting coloured workers for the sugar plantations of the Southern Pacific, to which workers are transported from China and India. This fact has compelled the workers in the imperialist countries to demand anti-immigration laws against coloured workers, as is the case in America and Australia. These prohibition laws deepen the antagonism between white and coloured workers and breaks and weakens the unity of the labour movement.

The Communist Parties of America, Canada and Australia must conduct an energetic campaign against anti-immigration laws, and must explain to the masses of the proletariat in these countries that these laws, by arousing national hatreds in the last resource damages them.

On the other hand, the capitalists desire to repeal the anti-immigration laws in order to maintain the free import of cheap labour, and thus force down the wages of the white workers. This attempted offensive of the capitalists can be successfully everted only by the immigrant workers being absorbed in the existing white labour unions. At the same time, the demand must be put forward for raising the wages of coloured workers to the level of white workers. Such tactics will expose the plans of the capitalists and, at the same time, clearly show to the coloured workers that the international proletariat has no racial prejudices.

In order to carry out these tactics, the representatives of

the revolutionary proletariat of the countries on the Pacific should gather at a Pan-Pacific Conference in order to work out correct lines of action and to decide on the proper forms of organisation for the purpose of uniting all the proletarians in the races of the Pacific.

VIII. The Task of the Communist Parties in the Home Countries.

The first class importance of the colonial revolutionary movements for the cause of the international proletarian revolution makes necessary an intensification of the work in the colonies, particularly by the Communist Parties, in the imperialist countries.

French imperialism is basing all its calculations on the suppression of the proletarian revolutionary struggle in France and Europe by using its colonial slaves as the fighting reserve of the counter-revolution.

British and American imperialism continues to divide the labour movement by maintaining on its side the aristocracy of labour by promises of a share in its excess profits obtained by the exploitation of the colonies.

Every Communist Party in the countries possessing colonies must undertake the task of organising systematic ideological and material assistance to the labour and revolutionary movement in the colonies. They must carry out a persistent and determined struggle against the quasi-socialist colonising tendencies prevailing among certain categories of well-paid European workers in the colonies. European Communist workers in the colonies must strive to rally around themselves the native proletariat and gain its confidence by concrete economic demands (equal pay for white and native workers, protection of labour, labour insurance, etc.).

The formation of exclusive European Communist Organisations in the colonies (Egypt, Algiers) is a concealed form of colonialism, and is an aid to imperialist interests. The formation of Communist organisations on national lines is a contradiction of the principle of proletarian nationalism. All parties belonging to the Communist International must unceasingly explain to the masses of toilers the importance of the struggle against imperialist domination in the backward countries. The Communist Parties working in the imperialist countries should set up a special colonial committee of their E.C.'s for this purpose. The aid rendered by the Communist International to the Communist Parties of the East must be expressed in the first place by helping to establish a press, and the publication of journals and periodicals in the native languages. Special attention must be given to work among the European labour organisation and among occupational troops in the colonies. The Communist Parties in the imperialist countries must not allow a single opportunity to slip by to expose the predatory policy of their imperialist governments and their bourgeois and opportunist parties.

Resolution on Co-operation

(On the report of N. Meshterskoff).

During the last years preceding the world war and especially during the war, the co-operative movement developed extensively in all countries, and drew into its ranks the vast masses of workers and peasants. The present capitalist offensive the world over compels the workers, and especially the women, to appreciate still more highly the aid rendered by Consumers' Co-operatives.

The old social compromisers have long understood the great value of the co-operative movement for the attainment of their aims. They entrenched themselves firmly in the co-operative organisations, whence they indefatigably directed their efforts towards poisoning the minds of the toiling masses, and created a duality of consciousness and of conduct, even among the revolutionary elements of the proletariat. In certain countries the social-democratic parties, through having the leadership of the co-operative movement in their hands, derived funds from the co-operatives for the support of their parties, while under the flag of political neutrality they actually carried on a policy of supporting the bourgeoisie and its imperialist aims.

Retaining in their hands the leadership of the co-operative movement, some of the old leaders are unable, and others unwilling, to understand the changes in social conditions that have taken place, and the new tasks of the co-operative movement, and the necessity for adopting new methods of work. Obstinate refusing to renounce their time-honoured co-operative principles, they disorganise even the purely economic work and undermine the existence of the co-operatives and consequently destroy the co-operative movement.

Finally, they do nothing to prepare the co-operatives for the immensely important tasks which will devolve upon them after the capture of power by the proletariat.

The foregoing compels the Communists to direct the most serious efforts towards wresting the co-operatives from the hands of the social compromisers, and the conversion of the co-operatives from instruments of the bourgeoisie into the weapon of the revolutionary proletariat.

The Third Congress of the Comintern studied and approved the theses on the work of the Communists in the co-operatives. The experience of a year and a-half has shown that these theses were based on a proper estimation of facts. The Fourth Congress of the Comintern reaffirms these theses, and urges all the Communist Parties, groups and organisations to take an active part in the co-operative movement, and instructs the press of the Party to devote sufficient space for the discussion of the questions of co-operation.

For the furtherance of these theses, the Fourth Congress of the Comintern points out especially:—

(1) The imperative necessity for all the Communist Parties carrying out the instruction that all the members of the Party shall be members of the consumers' co-operatives and take an active part in their work. In every co-operative organisation the Communist members should organise openly or secretly—a Communist nucleus. These nuclei should be united into district organisations, which, in their turn, should be organised into a national organisation, headed by a special co-operative section controlled by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the country. The entire work of the Communists in the co-operatives should be carried through on the basis of the most rigid discipline under the control of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The task of these nuclei consists in establishing the closest connection with the broad masses of the working-class co-operators, in criticising not only the principles, but also the practice of the old co-operatives and in organising the discontented masses in order to create, in the co-operatives, a united front against capitalism and the capitalist State. All the national organisations of the Communist co-operators should be closely allied with the Comintern through its co-operative section.

The Communist co-operatives should under no circumstances strive to separate the revolutionary or the opposition elements from the co-operatives or to split them, because such tactics would only lead to the undermining of power of the co-operatives and to the weakening of the contact of the revolutionary co-operators with the broad masses of the working class. For identical reasons we should not endeavour to separate the national co-operative unions from the International Co-operative Union. On the contrary, Communists should demand the admission into this Union of all the national unions in which the Communists constitute a majority or a strong minority, and which do not as yet belong to the International Co-operative Union.

(2) The Central Committees of the Communist Parties as well as the Communist co-operators should initiate an energetic campaign against the co-operative illusions, that the co-operatives are able, by themselves, to achieve the socialist order by means of a gradual transition into socialism without the capture of political power by the proletariat, or that by employing the old methods, they will achieve a considerable improvement in the conditions of the working class. A similarly energetic campaign should be carried on against the principle of the political neutrality of the co-operatives. This so-called neutrality is indeed only a screen for open or secret support of the interests of the bourgeoisie and its hangers-on. This campaign should be carried on, not only in the form of a theoretical propaganda, but also by attracting the co-operatives to the economic and political struggle now being con-

ducted by the political parties and the Red Trade Unions for the defence of the interests of the working class. Co-operatives should participate in combating the increases of taxation—especially of indirect taxes affecting the consumers—exorbitant taxes on co-operatives or on their business operations, and the rise in prices. The co-operatives should demand the transfer of distribution of commodities of prime necessity to the hands of the workers' consumers' co-operatives. They should participate in the struggle against militarism which is the cause of the growth of state expenditure, and consequently of the increase of taxation, against the mad financial policy of the imperialist governments, which causes the depreciation of the currency. The co-operatives should fight against the Versailles Treaty and against Fascism, which is raising its head everywhere and subjecting the co-operatives to cruel repressions. The co-operatives must combat the menace of a new war, and intervention, and demand the establishment of relations with Soviet Russia, etc. The Communist co-operators should endeavour to draw their organisations into this struggle alongside with the Communist Parties and Red Trade Unions, thus creating a united proletarian front. The Communist co-operators should demand that their organisations extend aid to the victims of capitalist terror, to the workers on strike or lockout, etc. The Communist co-operators should insist that the co-operatives develop revolutionary cultural and educational work on an extensive scale, and take this work into their own hands.

(3) Apart from energetically participating in the political and economic struggle of the revolutionary proletariat, the Communist co-operators should also carry on purely co-operative work in order to imbue the co-operatives with those principles which the new conditions and tasks of the proletariat demand. The amalgamation of the small consumers' societies into large organisations, the repudiation of the old principle of dividends and the employment of all profits made for strengthening the power of the co-operatives, the establishment of a special strikers' aid fund out of profits, the defence of the interests of co-operative employees to oppose such forms of bank credits as may jeopardise the co-operatives: such are the tasks which the Communist co-operators should perform. In the event of it being necessary to raise the price of shares in the co-operatives, the Communists should demand that such increases do not lead to the expulsion from the co-operatives of those workers unable to pay the increase, and that certain exemptions be made for such category of workers.

The Communist nuclei in the co-operative should also connect their work most closely with the work of the women trade union organisations and with the Communist Young People's League, in order to facilitate, by common effort, the work of co-operative propaganda among the working women and the youth. It is also necessary to initiate an energetic struggle

against the co-operative bureaucracy which, shielding itself under the slogan of democracy, has reduced this principle to a hollow phrase, while in reality they arbitrarily do whatever they please in the co-operatives, refusing to call general meetings and entirely ignore the will of the working masses. Finally, it is necessary that the Communist nuclei in the co-operatives must secure the election of their members, including women, to the management and the control organs of the co-operative societies, and take the necessary measures to provide the Communists with the knowledge and training requisite for directing the co-operatives.

Resolution on Communist work amongst Women

THE Fourth World Congress of the Communist International expresses its approval of the activity of the International Communist Women's Secretariat in Berlin, as an auxiliary organ of the Executive during the period covered by the report. The International Communist Women's Secretariat has concentrated its activity on bringing the women Communists as members into the sections of the Communist International in all the countries with a revolutionary movement, and to train them for Party work and struggles. It has also contributed a great deal towards spreading the Communist propaganda and organisation work among the widest possible female masses, in order to draw them into the movement and struggle for the interests of the working class and for Communism.

The International Communist Women's Secretariat has made it its business to co-ordinate the work of the organised Communist women on an international scale, viz., to establish connection between their work and that of the Communist Parties and of the Communist International. In the International Women's Secretariat we have succeeded in conjunction with the Communist Parties of the various countries, in extending and consolidating the international relations between the Communist women organised within these Parties. Its entire activity has been carried on in complete harmony with the Executive and under the guidance of the latter according to the fundamental and technical directives and decisions of the World Congress of the Communist International and of the Second International Communist Women's Conference in Moscow.

The special bodies (Women's Secretariats, Women's Sections, etc.), established in accordance with these directives and decisions, and the special methods applied in Communist Party work among women, have not only proved useful, but

indispensable for the task of permeating the masses of working women with Communist ideas and watchwords.

In the countries with a bourgeois class regime, the chief task of systematic Communist activity among the female proletariat, the women in industry, consists in the struggle for the defence of the most pressing needs of life against the exploiting capitalists, in the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and for the establishment of proletarian dictatorship. On the other hand, in the Soviet States, the chief task of the Women's Secretariat consisted in drawing the working and peasant women into active participation on all the fields of the economic and social life of their respective countries, and in training them for the constructive work of the proletarian State and the tasks which the latter has to fulfil. The International significance of Soviet Russia as the first workers' State produced by the world revolution, gives a special meaning to the Communist activity of the working women of these countries, as it serves as an example to all the sections of the Communist International in the countries where the proletariat has not yet acquired power, the indispensable pre-requisite for the reconstruction of society on a Communist basis. That it is indispensable to have special organisations for the conducting of Communist work among women, has also been shown by the activity of the Women's Secretariat for the East, which has done valuable and successful work on a perfectly new and rather difficult field.

The Fourth World Congress of the Communist International is, however, compelled to admit that some sections have either not carried out their tasks at all, or have done so in a very unsatisfactory manner. Up to the present they have either failed to take the necessary measures for the organisation of the women Communists within the party, or to establish party organs which are indispensable for working and keeping in contact with the masses of working women.

The Fourth Congress enjoins these sections with the least possible delay to make good their failure to comply with the decisions of the last Congress. At the same time, it reminds all sections of the Communist International to concentrate their attention on work among women in view of the great importance of women's collaboration for the movement as a whole. The proletarian united front can only be realised if the women take a rational and energetic part in it in perfect equality with men. Given a proper and close alliance between the Communist Parties and the working women, the latter can become under certain circumstances the pioneers of the proletarian united front and of the revolutionary mass movements.

The Communist International must unite, without any differentiation, all the forces of the proletariat and of the

working masses for a class conscious revolutionary struggle for the establishment of Communism and for the overthrow of the bourgeois class regime.

Resolution on the Young Communist International

1. In accordance with the decisions of the Third Congress of the Comintern, the Second World Congress of the Y.C.I. resolved to make the Communist organisations politically subordinate to the Communist Parties. The Young Communists, instead of being a self-contained political organisation, shall become a broad mass organisation for the young workers representing the interests of the young workers in all respects, within the limits of the activities of the working class and under the political guidance of the Communist Parties. Nevertheless, the Young Communist organisations shall remain political organisations, and the participation in the political struggles shall continue to be the basis of their activity. The struggle for the daily economic demands of the young workers, and against bourgeois militarism furnish the most important immediate means to arouse and to win the large masses of young workers. It is desirable to transform the organisational methods of activity in conformity with the new tasks. It is particularly desirable to introduce a systematised plan of Communist educational activity within the organisation, and educational work on a mass scale for the young workers that are outside the organisation.

The carrying out of the decisions of the Second World Congress can be achieved only by long and strenuous work. There were great obstacles in the way, which made it difficult for most of the organisations to carry out their task. Some organisations had to curtail their activities owing to the economic crisis (impoverishment, unemployment), also owing to the reactionary offensive which has forced many organisations into illegality. In consequence of the temporary subsidence of the revolutionary wave, and the weakening of the revolutionary mood of the workers at large, the young workers' movement experienced a corresponding decrease of interest in politics. At the same time, the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats increased their efforts to influence and organise the young workers. The Y.C.I., since its Second World Congress, has carried out its subordination to the Communist Parties everywhere, although on the whole the mutual relations between the Party and the Youth have not yet been fully brought into accord with the decisions of the International Congresses. The particularly necessary

aid to the activity of the Youth organisation on the part of the Party is frequently quite inadequate. The Y.C.I., thanks to its efforts during the last fifteen months, has succeeded in carrying out the important practical steps for the transformation of the organisation in the spirit of the decisions of the Second World Congress, thus laying the foundation for transforming it into a mass organisation. By its propaganda for economic and political militant demands, the Y.C.I. in many countries gained the adherence of the young workers, and a number of campaigns and concrete militant actions were undertaken and carried out.

The Y.C.I., either from the point of view of numbers or of organic contact with the masses and permanent influence over them, cannot yet be said to have completely become a mass organisation. Thus the organisation has still many tasks ahead.

2. The capitalist offensive has hit the working youth with greatest severity. Low wages, long hours, unemployment and exploitation hit the young workers much harder than the adults, and are accompanied by greater misery and oppression. At the same time, the young workers are exploited as a weapon against the adults to cut down wages, to take the place of strikers, and to increase the unemployment among the adult workers. This policy, calculated to do great harm to the working class as a whole, is supported and promoted by the treacherous attitude of the reformist trade union bureaucracy, which gives no heed to the young workers or sacrifices them entirely, while doing everything possible to keep the young workers away from the struggles of the adults. Quite frequently they are even denied admission to the unions. The rise of bourgeois militarism causes the further intensification of the sufferings of the young workers and peasants who are recruited into the capitalist armies as the cannon fodder for the future militarist wars. The European reaction makes the youth its particular prey, and in some places the young workers are not allowed to form their Young Communist organisations, even though the Communist Parties are tolerated.

The two social-democratic Youth Internationals hitherto have been inactive in the face of the misery of the young workers, and attempted to prevent the masses of the young workers from joining in the common struggle of the working class. For this purpose they formed a bloc, which, in addition to preventing the suffering masses of young workers from forming a united front and joining the common struggle, was also directed against the Communist International, and brought about the amalgamation of the social-democratic Youth International.

The Communist International declares the absolute necessity for a united front between the young workers and the adults, and calls upon the Communist Parties and upon

all the workers of the world to support the demands of the young workers in the struggle against the capitalist offensive, against bourgeois militarism and reaction.

The Communist International welcomes and fully supports the fight that is waged by the Y.C.I. for the vital demands of the young workers, and for the united front between the young and the adult workers. The capitalist attacks which threaten to inflict the deepest misery on the young workers, and to make them the helpless victims of militarism and reaction, should meet with the iron resistance of the entire working class.

3. The Young Communist movement should receive the careful understanding and active support of the Communist Parties in carrying out the tasks incumbent upon them of educating and winning the masses.

By close co-operation between the Party and the Youth and by the constant attraction of the Young Communist organisations to the political activities of the Party, the political interest and the political forces of the young movement will be sustained. Only in this way will the Communist Parties carry out the decisions of the Communist International, and lay the foundation for a healthy Young Communist movement. The Communist Parties must give organisational aid to the Young Communist organisations. Young comrades should be appointed to take part in the Young Communist movement, and special propaganda should be organised for the young workers in places where party organisations exist. Since the principal task of the Young Communist organisations is to direct their activity to the masses of the young workers, the Communist Parties should render particular aid in forming and carrying on the organs of the Comintern (nuclei and factions) in the trade unions and in the factories. Mutual representation should be carried out in all the organs of the Party and the youth organisation (nuclei, local groups, district committees, central committees, congresses, factions, etc.).

The Young Communist organisations must establish their roots in the masses of the young workers by increasing their economic propaganda and by constant attention to the questions affecting the lives of the young workers, and by championing their everyday interests. The Communist Parties must therefore give the utmost support to the economic activity of the Young Communists in the nuclei and factions of the factories, schools and trade unions, and carry out the closest co-operation between the members of the Young Communist International and the Communist Parties in the trade Unions. The Communists in the trade unions should insist on equal rights for the young workers and apprentices, on making their membership contributions moderate, on having their interests properly represented in the trade union struggle, and on securing participation in signing wage agreements, etc. The Communist Parties should further promote

the economic work of the Young Communists in the trade unions by propaganda and active support of their actions, and by supporting their daily demands in the general trade union struggle.

In view of the increased menace of imperialist war and the growth of reaction, the Communist Parties must give their utmost support to the anti-militarist campaign of the Young Communist organisations. The Young Communists should be the most ardent fighters in the defence of the working class against the reaction.

The Communist educational activity becomes of particular importance in the desire of the Young Communist organisations to become wide mass organisations. The winning of the masses entails the duty to give these masses a Communist education. The educational work of the Young Communist organisations must be carried on systematically and as an independent organisation. The necessary support should be given by the Communist Parties in the shape of furnishing men and materials for the organisation of schools and training courses, and also by arranging for vacancies for Young Communists in the party schools, as well as by including the Young Communists' reviews in the publication problem of the Party.

The Congress deems it necessary for the Party Press to aid the struggle of the Young Communist organisations, by devoting regular columns and supplements to the youth, and by giving prominence to the life and struggle of the young workers in all the papers published by the Party.

The bourgeois world, whose efforts meet with stout resistance in the class consciousness of the adult workers, and in the revolutionary fervour of the young workers, seeks particularly to poison the mind of the children of the working class. This makes the organisation and maintenance of Communist children's groups a matter of paramount importance. These should be put under the organisational charge and guidance of the young workers, and the Party should aid this work by active participation in the central committee of the children's groups. The Party should give every assistance to the Communist Children's Press, which has been started by the Young Communist organisations of the various countries.

Particularly close co-operation between the Young Communists and the Party is necessary in those countries where the Communist movement has been forced by the reaction to go underground.

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International, emphasising the particular importance of the Communist work in the direction of winning the masses of the young workers, extends its hearty greetings to the ardent fellow-fighters of the Young Communist International in the present, and to its reserves in the future.

Theses on Communist Work in the Trade Unions

I. The State of the Labour Union Movement.

1. During the last two years, which were characterised by the capitalist offensive throughout the world, the labour movement has lost considerable strength in all countries. With a few exceptions (such as Germany, Austria, and Australia), the labour unions were shrinking everywhere and losing many of their members. This loss of membership is due to the powerful offensive actions of the capitalist class, as well as to the fact that the reformist unions are not able to offer serious resistance, and to protect the elementary interests of the masses of workers.

2. Due to the offensive of capital and to the maintenance of the policy of co-operation of classes, disappointment has spread among the working masses, and it found its expression not only in attempts to establish new organisations, but also in the scattering of quite a large number of the least conscious part of the workers. For many workers the labour unions have ceased to be the centre of attraction in the measure as these unions were showing themselves as incapable—and in many cases as having no intention—to stop the advancing offensive of capital and to retain the positions previously conquered. The barrenness of reformism was strikingly demonstrated by experience.

3. Thus the world's labour union movement is characterised by the inner lack of stability, by desertion of large numbers of the workers from the unions, and by the persistent policy of co-operation of classes "for the purpose of making use of capital in the interests of labour." In reality it was capital that continued to make use of the reformist organisations in its own interests by manœuvring them into participation in the lowering of the standard of living of the masses. The period just closing is thus characterised by more intimate relations between the capitalist governments and the reformist leaders, and by a greater subjection of the interests of the working class to those of the ruling groups than was the case before.

II. The Offensive of Amsterdam against the Revolutionary Unions.

4. Simultaneously with the retreat of the reformist leaders before the attack of the capitalist class all along the line, these leaders were executing an attack upon the revolutionary workers. The unwillingness to organise resistance to capital was spreading serious discontent in the masses of the workers, and therefore the reformist leaders, in order to drive the revolutionary ideas from the labour organisations, have started an organised campaign against the revolutionary labour union movement, aiming at disorganising the revolutionary minorities by all means at their disposal, and at making easier thereby

the strengthening of the shaken class rule of the capitalist class.

5. In order to maintain their rule, the leaders of the Amsterdam International do not hesitate to expel, not only individual or isolated groups, but whole organisations. Besides, the Amsterdam leaders have firmly resolved, as far as they are concerned, never to remain in a minority, and in case of impending danger from the revolutionary elements, the adherents of the Comintern and Profintern—to rather split the organisations than allow the control of the machinery and material resources to pass from their hands. That is the way the leaders of the French Confederation of Labour have acted; the same policy is being followed by the reformists in Czechoslovakia, and in their footsteps are following the leaders of the All-German Federation of Labour Unions. The interests of the capitalist class requires the splitting of the labour union movement.

6. Simultaneously with the attack of the Amsterdam leaders against the revolutionary workers of their respective countries, the same attack was taking place on the international field. The international organisations of workers of various industries adhering to the Amsterdam International, were systematically expelling and rejecting revolutionary unions of their respective industries. Thus the Russian and other revolutionary unions, merely because they belonged to the Red International of Labour Unions, were rejected by the International Congresses of Miners, Textile Workers, Public Employees, Leather Workers, Woodworkers, Builders, and Workers of Communication Lines.

7. This campaign of the Amsterdam leaders against the revolutionary unions is the reflex of the campaign of international capital against the working class, and it has the same purpose, i.e., to establish stable capitalistic relations upon the bodies of the toiling masses. Reformism, scenting its downfall, aims by means of splits and expulsions of the most militant elements, to as much as possible weaken the working class in order to thus render it incapable of taking into its hands the public powers and the means of production and exchange.

III. The Anarchists and the Communists.

8. Together with the offensive of the Amsterdam leaders against the Communist labour union movement, there was also taking place an "offensive" of the Anarchists against the Comintern, against the Communist Parties, and the Communist nuclei in the labour unions. Several Anarcho-Syndicalist organisations have come out openly as determined enemies of the Communist International and of the Russian Revolution, despite the fact that in 1920 these organisations had solemnly joined the Comintern, and declared their devotion to the Russian proletariat and to the October Revolution. Such attacks came from the Italian Syndicalist Union, from the German Localists, the Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalists, and

from the various Anarcho-Syndicalist groups in France, Holland, Sweden and America.

9. Under the slogan of independence of the labour union movement from Communist Parties, a number of Syndicalist organisations (National Labour Secretariat of Holland, Industrial Workers of the World, Italian Syndicalist Union, etc.), proceed to expel from their organisation the adherents of the Profintern in general, and the Communists in particular. Thus the slogan of independence of the labour union movement was transformed into an anti-Communist counter-revolutionary slogan, coinciding with the slogan of the Amsterdam leaders, who are conducting the same policy under the banner of independence, though everybody knows that they are dependent on the national and international capitalist class.

10. The campaign of the Anarchists against the Comintern, against the Profintern, and against the Russian Revolution, has caused disintegration and splits in their own ranks. The best elements of the workers have taken up the fight against this ideology. The camp of the Anarchists and the Anarcho-Syndicalists is broken up into several groups and currents engaged in a fierce struggle for and against the Profintern, for and against the dictatorship of the Proletariat, for and against the Russian Revolution.

IV. Neutrality and Independence.

11. The influence of the capitalist class upon the proletariat has found its expression in the theory of neutrality of the labour unions, which is made to mean that the labour unions must have purely trade aims of a narrow economic character without pursuing any general working-class aims. Neutrality was ever a purely bourgeois theory, against which revolutionary Marxism was conducting an uncompromising struggle. The labour unions, which have no general working-class aim, i.e., the aim of the overthrow of the capitalist social order, are, in spite of their proletarian make-up, the best bulwark of the bourgeois order and the bourgeois system.

12. In defence of the theory of neutrality, the argument was always made that the labour unions must deal exclusively with economic issues, and should under no circumstances mix in politics. The capitalist class was ever striving to separate politics from economics, realising quite well that in the measure as it will succeed in driving the working class into the stalls of craft unionism, no serious danger will threaten its rule.

13. The line separating economics from politics is drawn also by the Anarchist elements engaged in the labour union movement, which are striving to detach the labour union movement from its political tasks under the pretext that all politics are aimed against the workers. This basically purely bourgeois theory is presented under the flag of neutrality, whereby the labour unions are set up against the proletarian Communist Parties, and war is declared upon the Communist

labour movement always in the name of the same notorious independence and autonomy.

14. This struggle against "politics" and political parties has for its result the limiting of the scope of the labour movement and of labour organisations, and is directed against Communism, which is the concentrated consciousness of the working class. Independence, in all its forms, whether purely Anarchistic or Anarcho-Syndicalistic, is an anti-Communist theory, and must be met with most decisive resistance, for at best it leads to independence from Communism, and to the setting up of labour unions against Communist Parties, and, in the worst case, it leads to bitter struggles of labour union organisations against Communist Parties, against Communism, and against social revolution.

15. The theory of independence as it is advocated by the French, Italian, and Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalists, is essentially the battle-cry of Anarchism against Communism. The Communists in the labour union movement must engage in decisive debate and polemics against this attempt to smuggle in Anarchist merchandise under cover of the flag of independence, and to split the united Labour movement into antagonistic forms which cannot but hinder and retard the triumph of the working class.

V. Syndicalism and Communism.

16. The Anarcho-Syndicalists are confounding Syndicates (unions) with Syndicalism, presenting their Anarcho-Syndicalist Party for the only revolutionary organisation which will attain the general class goal of the proletariat. A labour union is a non-partisan organisation of the masses which unites the workers of all tendencies, while Syndicalism is one of the political currents within such an organisation. Syndicalism, being a great step forward in comparison with the trade unionist conception, has nevertheless a number of extremely harmful features and tendencies, which must be most decisively combated in point of principle.

17. The Communists cannot and must not, in the name of abstract Anarcho-Syndicalist principles, surrender their right to organise their nuclei and groups within all labour union organisations, whatever their tendencies. This is the right of the Communists, and nobody can take it away from them. It goes without saying that the Communists working within Syndicalist organisations must co-ordinate their activity, and work with that part of the Syndicalists who have learned the lesson of the war and revolution.

18. The Communists must take upon themselves the initiative of forming in labour unions a bloc with revolutionary workers of other tendencies. The nearest to Communists in the labour union movement are the Communist Syndicalists, who recognise the necessity for the dictatorship of the Proletariat, and who are on the defensive against Anarcho-

Syndicalists. But co-ordination of activities presupposes organisation of Communists. When scattered and acting individually, the Communists cannot co-ordinate their activities with anybody, for they do not represent any serious force.

19. Advancing in a most decisive and consistent manner, their Communist principles, conducting the struggle against the anti-Communist theory of independence and against the opposing of politics to economics—this Anarchist conception so harmful to the working class—the Communists must strive within the labour unions of all directions and tendencies to co-ordinate their work in the practical struggle against Reformism and Anarcho-Syndicalist verbalism, with all revolutionary elements who stand for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

20. In countries where there are serious revolutionary Syndicalist labour union organisations (as in France), and where, under the influence of various historical causes a distrust with regard to political parties continues to dominate the minds of certain strata of workers, the Communists, in agreement with the Syndicalists, must work out, in accordance with the peculiarities of the country and of the labour movement, the forms and methods of joint struggle and co-operation in all offensive and defensive actions against capitalism.

VI. The Struggle for Unity in the Trade Union Movement.

21. The slogan of the Communist International in relation to this matter of the splitting of the labour unions must be carried out in the future as heretofore with unrelenting energy, regardless of the fierce persecutions of the Communists by the reformists of all lands. The reformists resort to expulsions in order to provoke a split. Their hope is by the systematic expulsion of the best elements of the labour unions, to make the Communists lose their self-control and to drive the latter to give up their well-thought-out plan for the conquest of the labour unions from within, to get out of the unions, to declare themselves in favour of a split. But the reformists will not succeed in their scheme.

22. A split in the labour union movement will gravely imperil the working-class movement as a whole, especially under the present circumstances. A split in the labour unions will throw the working class back by many years, for it would be easy in that case for the bourgeoisie to deprive the workers of the most elementary of their gains. The Communists must do their utmost to hinder a split in the labour union movement; they must use the entire strength of their organisation to defeat the criminal plan conceived by the reformists for the breaking up of the united labour union movement.

23. In those countries where there are two parallel general labour union centres, as in Spain, France, Czecho-Slovakia, etc., the Communists must conduct a systematic fight for the reuniting of the parallel organisations. For this reuniting

of the split-up labour unions it would be utterly irrational to detach individual Communists and revolutionary workers from the reformist unions, and to transfer them to the revolutionary unions. Not a single reformist union should remain without the Communist ferment. Increasingly vigorous Communist activity both in the reformist and the revolutionary organisations is the pre-requisite of the re-establishment of unity.

24. The unity of the labour union organisations can only be preserved, and likewise the disturbed unity can be re-established only in case the Communists will put forward a practical programme of action in each country and in relation to each branch of industry. Only on the basis of practical work, or practical struggle, is it possible to unite the scattered elements of the working-class movement, and, in case of a split in the labour unions, to establish the prerequisite for their reuniting in point of organisation. Every Communist must bear in mind that a split in the trade union movement does not merely imperil the actual gains of the working class, but endangers the social revolution itself. The attempt of the reformists to split the labour union movement must be crushed at the very outset. This can be achieved by increased strenuous organisational and political work among the working masses.

VII. The Struggle against the Expulsion of Communists.

25. The expulsion of the Communists has for its purpose disorganisation of the revolutionary movement by isolating the leaders from the mass of workers. The Communists cannot therefore reduce their efforts to the forms and methods of struggle which they were using heretofore. The most critical moment has now been reached in the history of the world's labour movement. The wish for a split has become extremely accentuated with the reformists. Our will for unity of the labour union movement is demonstrated by numerous facts. The Communists must prove in practice, in the future, as well as in the past, how much importance they attach to the unity of the labour union movement.

26. The more plainly our enemies display their disruptive tactics, the more vigorously does it behove us to advance the cause of unity in the labour union movement. In every factory, in every workshop, in every workers' meeting, all possible opportunities must be seized for protests against the Amsterdam tactics. It is necessary to put the question of the split in the labour union movement before every rank and file member of a labour union, and to put it not only when the split has taken place, but also when it is only being prepared. The question of expulsions must be put on the order of business of the entire labour union movement of a given country. The Communists are strong enough to resist being choked in silence. The working class must know who is for the split and who is for unity. The expulsions of Communists who

have been duly elected by the local organisations must be met, not only by protests against the violation of the will of the electors, but also by definite organised counter-action. The expelled members must not remain scattered. The most important task of the Communist Parties is to prevent the scattering of the expelled elements. They must organise into unions of victims of expulsions, and must formulate a concrete programme, making their demand for reinstatement the central feature of their entire political work.

28. In actual fact, the struggle against expulsion is the struggle for the unity of the labour union movement. Here all measures are good which lead to the restoration of the least unity. The expelled members must not remain isolated from the rest of the opposition camp or from the independent revolutionary organisations existing in the country. The groups of the expelled must promptly enter into a close alliance with the revolutionary organisations existing in the country for the organisation of a combined struggle against expulsions and for the co-ordination of activities in the struggle against reaction.

29. The practical measures may and should be supplemented or varied in accordance with local conditions and peculiarities. It is most important that the Communist groups should adopt a clear-cut militant attitude against the policy of splits, and should do everything in their power to counteract the policy of expulsions, which has been considerably intensified in consequence of the process of amalgamation of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals. There is no definite and universally applicable method of combating the expulsions. In this respect all Communist Parties are entirely free to avail themselves of all the means which they find expedient in order to attain the goal set, namely, the re-establishment of the disturbed unity of the labour union movement.

30. The Communists must carry on a vigorous struggle against the expulsion of the revolutionary unions from the international organisations by industries. The Communist Parties cannot and must not remain passive spectators of the systematic expulsion of the revolutionary unions simply because they are revolutionary. The interantional industrial propaganda committees, founded by the R.I.L.U. must receive the most active support of the Communist Parties, in order to unite the available revolutionary forces in the interests of the struggle for a Single International in each industry. The whole campaign must be conducted under the banner of uniting all unions, whatever be their political tendencies, into a single international industrial organisation.

IX. Conclusion.

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International, advancing steadfastly along the path of conquest of the labour unions, and of the struggle against the disruptive policy of

the reformists, solemnly declares that whenever the Amsterdammers will not resort to expulsions, wherever they will make it possible for the Communists to carry on an ideological struggle for their principles within the labour unions, the Communists will fight in a disciplined manner in the ranks of the united organisation, always placing themselves in the forefront of battle against the bourgeoisie.

The Task of Communist Parties.

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International declares it to be the duty of all Communist parties to make use of all their strength in order to prevent the disruption of labour unions. They must do all they can in order to re-establish the unity of the Labour Union movement in those countries where it has been broken and to induce the Labour Union movement of their countries to join the Red International of Labour Unions.

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

Instructions on the Application of the Theses of the Second Congress on the Agrarian Question.

THE basis of our attitude to the agricultural working masses was already laid down in the agrarian thesis of the Second Congress. The Fourth Congress calls upon all the parties to do their utmost to win over the rural working masses, in accordance with the following instructions:—

1. The mass of the rural proletarians and the poor peasants, who do not possess enough land and must work part of the time for wages, or are exploited in any other way by the big landlords or capitalists, can be freed from their present servitude and from want which are inevitable under capitalism only by a proletarian revolution. This revolution will confiscate the land of the big landowners and all the means of production without compensation, putting them at the disposal of the workers, who will establish the Soviet State of proletarians and working peasants in lieu of the government of big landowners and capitalists, thus paving the way to Communism.

2. In the struggle against the government of the big landowners and the capitalists, the poor peasants and small holders are the natural allies of the agricultural and industrial proletariat. By joining in the struggle of the proletariat in the cities and in the rural districts, they will contribute to a great extent to the overthrow of the bourgeois State. While the urban proletariat seizes political power and confiscates the means of production of the bourgeoisie, the rural proletariat and the poor peasantry take possession of the land, drive away the big landowners and put an end to the domination of the agrarians and bourgeoisie in the country.

3. In order to win over the poor peasants (petty farmers, small tenants and a part of the small peasantry) for the revolution, in addition to the agricultural labourers, and in order to insure the benevolent neutrality of the middle peasantry, they must be freed from the influence and the leadership of the big peasantry allied to the big landowners. They must be made to realise that their interests are identical, not with those of the big peasants, but with those of the proletariat, and that, therefore, only the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the Communist party, can be their leader in their struggle. In order to accelerate the alienation of the poor peasants from the leadership of the big landlords and the big peasants, it is not sufficient to draw up a programme or carry on propaganda. The Communist Party must, through continued action in the interests of these peasants, prove that it is actually the party of all the workers and of all the oppressed.

Therefore, the Communist Party must be at the head of every struggle of the agricultural masses against the ruling classes. Linking up with the every-day demands of these workers under the capitalist system, the Communist Party brings together the scattered forces of the rural working class, stimulates its will to fight, supports the struggle by bringing into it the forces of the industrial proletariat and indicates new ways and methods leading to the revolution. The common struggle with industrial workers, and the fact that the latter, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are fighting for the interests of the rural workers and poor peasants, will convince the latter that (1) only the Communist Party mean honestly by them, while all the other, agrarian as well as social democratic parties (in spite of their high-sounding phrases) are intent only on deceiving them, while serving in reality the big landlords and capitalists, and (2) that a radical betterment of the conditions of the workers and poor peasants is impossible within the capitalist system.

5. Our practical militant demands must be adapted to the various forms of dependence and oppression of the workers, the poor and the middle peasants by big landlords and capitalists, as well as to the interests of the various separate groups.

In the colonial countries, with an oppressed native peasant population, the national liberation struggle is conducted either by the entire population, as for instance in Turkey (in such a case the struggle of the oppressed peasantry against the big landlords will inevitably begin after the victorious solution of the liberation struggle) or the feudal landlords are allied with the imperialist robbers, as for instance in India, where the social struggle of the oppressed peasants coincides with the national liberation struggle.

Territories with strong survivals of feudalism, where the bourgeois revolution has not fully accomplished its task and

where the big landlords still enjoy feudal rights and privileges, these rights and privileges must be brushed aside in the course of the struggle for the land which in this case is of paramount importance.

6. In all countries with a real agricultural proletariat, this part of the population is destined to be the most important factor of the rural revolutionary movement. Contrary to the social democrats, who attack the rural proletariat from the back, the Communist Party supports, organises and furthers all the struggles of the agricultural proletariat for the betterment of its economic, social and political conditions. In order to accelerate the revolutionising of the rural proletariat, and in order to train it for the struggle for proletarian dictatorship, which alone can definitely free them from exploitation, the Communist Party supports the rural proletariat in its struggle for a higher real wage and a betterment of the labour, housing and cultural conditions of the entire working class, freedom of assembly, of organisation, of trade union movement, of strikes, of the press, etc.—for at least the same rights and privileges as are enjoyed by the industrial working class—an average yearly eight-hour day, insurance against accidents and old age, prohibition of child labour, professional education, social legislation, at least to the same extent as it exists now for the city proletariat.

7. The Communist Party carries on its struggle for the liberation of the peasants from their servitude through the social revolution.

It struggles against all forms of capitalist exploitation of the poor and middle peasantry and especially against the exploitation by means of the loan and usurers' capital which makes the poor peasants the slaves of their creditors, also against the exploitation by commercial and speculative capital which buys up the surplus agricultural products of the poor peasants at low prices, selling it at high prices to the town proletariat.

The Communist Party works for the elimination of this parasitic speculative capital, and for an alliance between the co-operatives of small peasants and the consumers' co-operatives of the urban proletariat. It struggles against the exploitation of industrial capital, which uses its monopoly rights for artificially raising the prices of manufactured goods. It strives for the supply of means of production (artificial fertilisers, machinery, etc.) to the poor peasantry at low prices. The factory councils are to help in this work by controlling prices.

It also strives against the exploitation of the peasants through the private monopoly of the transportation system, as particularly in the Anglo-Saxon countries, and finally, against the exploitation by the capitalist state, which puts the chief burden of taxation on the shoulders of the poor peasantry in

the interests of the big landowners. We demand that the poor peasantry be freed of all taxation.

8. But the greatest exploitation of the landless peasantry in the non-colonial countries is caused by the private ownership of the land by the big landowners. In order to be able to exist, and to make full use of their labour power, the poor peasants are compelled to work for the big landowners at starvation wages, or to purchase or lease the lands at such high costs that a considerable part of the wages becomes a booty of the landowners. Lack of land compels the poor peasants to put up with mediæval servitude in modern form. Therefore the Communist Party strives for the expropriation of the land including agricultural implements, and the distribution of same among those who work on the land. Until the proletarian revolution has achieved this, the Communist Party will support the poor peasants in the struggle for the following immediate demands:—

(a) The betterment of the conditions of the small tenants by decreasing the share of the owner.

(b) Lower rent for small farms, unconditional compensation for the improvements made by the holder at the expiration of the lease, etc. The Agricultural Labourers' Union, under the leadership of the Communist Party, will support the small tenants in the struggle, by refusing to work on the fields of the landowner who has deprived the small tenant of his land owing to lease disputes, etc.

(c) The distribution of land, cattle and means of production among all the poor peasants on terms which insure their existence, the plots of land to be large enough to emancipate the peasants from the overlords of the big landowners. At the distribution of land, special attention must be paid to the interests of the agricultural labourers.

9. The ruling classes are endeavouring to rob the movement in the rural districts of its revolutionary character by introducing bourgeois agrarian reforms, and allotting land to the influential peasantry. They have succeeded in bringing about a temporary lull in the revolutionary movement. But every bourgeois agrarian reform is hampered by the capitalist system. Under capitalism land can only be given at a price to those who are already in possession of means enabling them to carry on their agricultural work. Bourgeois agrarian reforms can give absolutely nothing to the proletarian and semi-proletarian elements. The hard conditions imposed on those who receive land under a bourgeois plan of land distribution, cannot lead to a betterment of their conditions, but only to further servitude under the system of mortgages. These form the basis for the further extension of the revolutionary movement, accentuating the contrasts between the rich and the poor peasants and agricultural labourers who do not get any land, and whom the partition of the big estates only deprives of their former means of earning a livelihood.

10. The complete emancipation of all the rural workers can be brought about only by a proletarian revolution which confiscates without compensation the land and implements of the big landowners, while leaving intact the land of the working peasants, freeing it of rent, mortgages, taxes, etc., and all other feudal liabilities.

The workers are to decide themselves about the method and manner in which the confiscated land shall be worked. In connection with this question, the Theses of the Second Congress set forth the following:—

“The Communist International is of the opinion that the big agricultural estates in the advanced capitalist countries should be to a great extent maintained and that they should be carried on on the model of the Soviet agricultural farms in Russia.

Support should also be given to collective farming (co-operatives, communes, etc.).

The maintenance of the big farms is in the interest of the revolutionary rural population, of the landless agricultural labourer and of the semi-proletarian small holders who earn their living partly as hired labourers on these farms. Moreover, the nationalisation of the big agricultural estates ensures to a certain extent the independence of the food supply of the urban population from the peasantry.

On the other hand, it might be necessary under certain circumstances to hand over to the peasants part of the big estates. This applies to the countries with survivals of the mediæval social order, of indentured labour or of a motayer system, which lead to various forms of exploitation.

In countries and territories where big agricultural estates do not play an important part, but which have a large number of small land-hungry peasant proprietors, the distribution of the big landowners' land will be the best means for winning the peasantry for the revolution, while to maintain the big farms out of consideration of food supply of the cities is of no great importance in countries like these.

In any case, wherever a partitioning of the big estates takes place, the interests of the rural proletariat should be of prime consideration.

From the organisational viewpoint, all Communists engaged in agriculture and in the industrial concerns connected with it, must join the organisations of the agricultural labourers in order to rally and lead the revolutionary elements within them, with the purpose of turning these organisations into effective weapons for the revolutionary struggle. Wherever trade unions do not exist, the Communists must endeavour to bring them into being. They must carry on an energetic educational campaign in the yellow, Fascist and Christian counter-revolutionary organisations, in order to disintegrate them. Estate workers' councils must be formed in all the big agricultural estates for the defence of working-class interests, for control

over production, and for the prevention of the extension of these estates. They must call upon the industrial proletariat to support the struggles of the agricultural labourers, and, on the other hand they must endeavour to bring the latter into the industrial councils movement.

In view of the enormous importance of the poor peasants for the revolutionary movement, communists must make it their business to join the organisations of the small peasants (agricultural, consumers' and credit co-operatives) in order to revolutionise them and to do away with the apparent conflict of interests between the hired labourers and the poor peasants, which are being exaggerated and put to the fore by the big landowners. The Communists must also concentrate on effecting a close co-operation between the movement and actions of the rural organisations and those of the urban proletariat.

Only by uniting all the revolutionary forces of city and village, the capitalist offensive will be successfully resisted, and, passing from the defensive to the offensive, the final victory will be won.

RESOLUTION *on the* NEGRO QUESTION

DURING and after the war there developed among colonial and semi-colonial peoples a movement of revolt, which is still making successful progress against the power of world capital. The penetration and intensive colonisation of regions inhabited by black races is becoming the last great problem on the solution of which the further development of capitalism itself depends. French capitalism clearly recognises that the power of French post-war imperialism will be able to maintain itself only through the creation of a French-African Empire, linked up by a Trans-Sahara Railway, whilst America's financial magnates (who are exploiting 12,000,000 negroes at home) are now entering upon a peaceful penetration of Africa. How Britain, for her part, dreads the menace to her position in Africa is shown by the extreme measures taken to crush the Rand Strike. Just as in the Pacific the danger of another world war has become acute owing to the competition of imperialist powers there, so Africa looms ominously as the object of their rival ambitions. Moreover, the war, the Russian revolution, and the great movements of revolt against imperialism on the part of the Asiatic and Mussulman nationalities have roused the consciousness of millions of the negro race, whom capitalism has oppressed and degraded beyond all others for hundreds of years, not only in Africa, but perhaps even more in America.

2. The history of the negro in America fits him for an important rôle in the liberation struggle of the entire African

race. Three hundred years ago the American negro was torn from his native African soil, brought in slave ships under the most cruel and indescribable conditions, and sold into slavery. For two hundred and fifty years he toiled a chattel slave under the lash of the American overseer. His labour cleared the forests, built the roads, raised the cotton, laid the railroad tracks, and supported the Southern aristocracy. His reward was poverty, illiteracy, degradation and misery. The negro was no docile slave; his history is rich in rebellion, insurrection, underground methods of securing liberty; but his struggles were barbarously crushed. He was tortured into submission, and the bourgeois press and religion justified his slavery. When chattel slavery became an obstacle to the full and free developments of America on the basis of capitalism, when chattel-slavery clashed with wage-slavery, chattel-slavery had to go. The Civil War, which was not a war to free the negro, but a war to maintain the industrial capitalist supremacy of the North, left the negro the choice of peonage in the South or wage-slavery in the North. The sinews, blood and tears of the "freed" negro helped to build American capitalism, and when, having become a world power, America was inevitably dragged into the world war, the American negro was declared the equal of the white man to kill, and to be killed for "democracy." Four hundred thousand coloured workers were drafted into the American Army, and segregated into "Jim Crow" regiments. Fresh from the terrible sacrifices of war, the returned negro soldier was met with race persecutions, lynchings, murders, disfranchisement, discrimination and segregation. He fought back, but for asserting his manhood he paid dearly. Persecution of the negro became more widespread and intense than before the war, until he had "learned to keep his place." The post-war industrialisation of the negro in the North and the spirit of revolt engendered by post-war persecutions and brutalities, caused a spirit, which, though suppressed, flames into action when a Tulsa or other inhuman outrage cries aloud for protest, and places the American negro, especially of the North, in the vanguard of the African struggle against oppression.

3. It is with intense pride that the Communist International sees the exploited negro workers resist the attacks of the exploiter, for the enemy of his race and the enemy of the white workers is one and the same—Capitalism and Imperialism. The international struggle of the negro race is a struggle against Capitalism and Imperialism. It is on the basis of this struggle that the world negro movement must be organised. In America, as the centre of negro culture and the crystallisation of negro protest; in Africa, the reservoir of human labour for the further development of capitalism; in Central America (Costa Rica, Guatemala, Colombia, Nicaragua and other "independent" republics), where American imperialism dominates in Porto Rico, Haiti, Santo Domingo

and other islands washed by the waters of the Caribbean, where the brutal treatment of our black fellow-men by the American occupation has aroused the protest of the conscious negro and the revolutionary white workers everywhere; in South Africa and the Congo, where the growing industrialisation of the negro population has resulted in various forms of uprisings; in East Africa, where the recent penetration of world capital is stirring the native populations into an active opposition to imperialism, in all these centres the negro movement must be organised.

(4) It is the task of the Communist International to point out to the negro people that they are not the only people suffering from oppression of capitalism and imperialism; that the workers and peasants of Europe and Asia and of the America are also the victims of imperialism; that the struggle against imperialism is not the struggle of any one people, but of all the peoples of the world; that in India and China, in Persia and Turkey, in Egypt and Morocco, the oppressed coloured colonial peoples are struggling heroically against their imperialist exploiters; that these people are rising against the same evils that the negroes are rising—racial oppression and discrimination, and intensified industrial exploitation—that these people strive for political, industrial and social liberation and equality.

The Communist International, which represents the revolutionary workers and peasants of the whole world in the struggle to break the power of imperialism, is not simply the organisation of the enslaved white workers of Europe and America, but equally the organisation of the oppressed coloured peoples of the world, and feels it to be its duty to encourage and support the international organisation of the negro people in their struggle against the common enemy.

(5) The negro problem has become a vital question of the world revolution, and the Third International, which has already recognised what valuable aid can be rendered to the Proletarian Revolution by coloured Asiatic peoples in semi-capitalist countries likewise regards the co-operation of our oppressed black fellow-men as essential to the Proletarian Revolution and the destruction of capitalist power. The Fourth Congress accordingly declares it to be a special duty of Communists to apply the "Theses on Colonial Questions" to the negro problem.

(6) 1. The Fourth Congress recognises the necessity of supporting every form of negro movement which tends to undermine or weaken capitalism or imperialism or to impede its further penetration.

2. The Communist International will fight for race equality of the negro with the white people, as well as for equal wages and political and social rights.

3. The Communist International will use every instrument within its control to compel the trade unions to admit

negro workers to membership or, where the nominal right to join exists, to agitate for a special campaign to draw them into the unions. Failing in this, it will organise the negroes into unions of their own and specially apply the United Front tactic to compel admission to the unions of the white men.

4. The Communist International will take immediate steps to hold a general Negro Conference or Congress in Moscow.

RESOLUTION ON THE ORGANISATION OF CLASS-WAR PRISONERS' AID

"Under the capitalist offensive, in all the capitalist countries, there is a steady increase of the numbers of communist and non-party workers thrown into prison for taking part in the struggle against capitalism.

The Fourth Congress instructs all the Communist Parties to establish an organisation to render material and moral aid to the imprisoned victims of capitalism, and welcomes the initiative of the Russian "Union of Veteran Bolsheviks" to establish an international association of relief for the political class prisoners." (Applause.)

RESOLUTION ON EDUCATIONAL QUESTION

THE development of Marxist educational activity is one of the very necessary tasks of all Communist Parties.

The aim of this educational work is to improve our propaganda organisations and increase the strength of our members. Besides the general Marxian education, the members of the Party should also be trained for special work.

The Communist work of education which should be an integral part of the general activity of the Party, must be directly subordinated to the Central Committee of the Party. In the countries where the revolutionary education of the workers is carried on by special organisations outside the Communist Party, this goal is to be achieved by the systematic activity of the Communists in these organisations.

It is desirable that the Party educational committees be created in the Central Executives of the Parties to conduct this educational activity. All members of the Party who belong to educational institutions which are not controlled directly by the Party, such as the proletarian culture organisations, workers' educational clubs, proletarian universities, proletcult, labour colleges, etc., fall under the control of the Party and must follow its directives.

To carry on this Communist work of education, the Parties must organise Central and local Party schools, evening and

day courses, form a corps of teachers and lecturers, organise libraries, etc., as the circumstances demand. It is the duty of the Party to render the independent educational work of the Communist Youth material and intellectual support. The Youth should be admitted to all the educational activities of the Party. The revolutionary bringing up of the proletarian children should be conducted in common with the Communist Youth. The policy for these activities will be issued by the educational sections of the Executive of the Comintern.

An international educational section should be erected in the E.C. Its principal tasks are the solution of the educational problem of the Communist Parties, the conduct of the whole educational activity of the Parties, the unification of the proletarian educational institutions outside the Party. To these tasks belong the collection and spread of international experiences, the estimation of the forms and methods of work required by every country, the preparation and publication of manuals, text-books and other material, and the solution of all educational problems, which may come up in any country. In order to deal with the problem of school policies of the Communist Parties and the Communist International, international courses should be organised in the Socialist Academy and other similar institutions in Soviet Russia for higher Marxist training and practical Communist education.

Tasks of Agitation.

1. Every member of the Communist International must consider himself an agitator among the masses. This can always take place wherever and whenever workers usually gather, in the workshops, in the trade unions, at mass meetings in workers' clubs, in sport clubs, musical societies, tenants' and consumers' organisations, in people's houses, in workers' restaurants, in the trains, in the villages, etc., and even in the homes of the workers (house-to-house agitation).

2. The agitation shall always take as its starting point the concrete conditions and needs of the worker in order to lead them on the path of organised, revolutionary class war. One should not expound Communist Doctrines which would not be understood by the audience; one should always urge them to rise and fight for the immediate demands of the proletariat against capitalist and bourgeois class rule wherever it appears.

3. In all the struggles of the workers against the capitalists and bourgeois regime, the Communists should always energetically defend the interests of the workers, fight in the front ranks for the interests of the whole working class, sacrifice their own personal interests and let their example serve as the best means of propaganda.

4. The leading Party organs should issue practical instructions to all local groups on the regular propaganda work of all members of the Party, as well as the activity in special campaigns (electoral, high cost of living, and tax campaigns,

Shops' Councils, and unemployment movement), as well as all actions conducted by the Party. (A copy of all these instructions is to be sent to the Executive Committee of the Comintern.)

5. Every member of the Party has the right to demand from leaders of his organisation concrete and exact information on the agitation he should conduct. It is especially the tasks of the leaders of Communist nuclei, workers' groups, groups of tens, and factions to issue such directives and control their execution. Groups which possess no leaders should at once be provided with an agitation leader to carry out this policy.

6. The primary aim of the organisation to which a member of the Party belongs should provide a centre with the following information on its membership during the coming winter:—

A.—Whether he is conducting any agitation among the non-Party masses—

(a) Regularly?

(b) Casually?

(c) Or not at all?

B.—Whether he takes part in any other Party work—

(a) Regularly?

(b) Casually?

(c) Or not at all?

The Party Central Executive, after consultation with the Executive Committee of the Comintern, shall issue a circular letter to all its organisations to explain clearly how the above questionnaire is to be answered.

The district Executives and the local groups are responsible for the strict execution of this order. The results should be sent to the E.C.C.I. through the Party Central Executive.

Knowledge of the Most Important Resolutions of the Party and the Comintern.

1. Every member of the Communist International must be acquainted not only with the most important decisions of his own Party, but also with the most important decisions of the Communist International.

2. All organisations of the affiliated sections must see to it that every member of the Party knows at least the programme of its own Party and the 21 conditions of the International, as well as the decisions of the Comintern regarding his own Party. The members should be tested as to their knowledge.

3. Every responsible member shall be acquainted with every important tactical and organisatory resolution of the World Congress, and shall be submitted to a test on these topics. This is also desirable for the other members of the Party, but not obligatory.

4. The Party Central Executive in every section must issue the proper instructions to its organisations to carry out this decision, and report to the E.C.C.I. on the results during the coming spring.

RESOLUTION *on* INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' RELIEF *for* SOVIET RUSSIA



(1) The workers of all countries, without distinction of political or trade union views, are interested in the preservation and strengthening of Soviet Russia. Besides the deep-rooted feeling of proletarian solidarity, it was the consciousness of this fact which led the working class parties to support the relief work and moved the working class to make the greatest sacrifices on its behalf. The support of the proletarian relief, which grew to one of the mightiest actions of International solidarity enabled Soviet Russia to pull through the blackest days of famine and finally to conquer it.

But already during the time in which the work of the famine relief was being conducted, large sections of the working-class organisations engaged in this activity, recognised that this relief in form of food alone would not be of great help to Soviet Russia. The economic war of the capitalist countries against Soviet Russia continues. The blockade continues in the form of refusal of credits and in every case where capitalist groups take up business relations with Soviet Russia they do this in order to make profits and exploit Soviet Russia.

Just as in every other conflict between Soviet Russia and its imperialist enemies, it is the duty of workers of all countries to take Russia's side against its enemies in this economic war and to help it with all the means in their power, including that of the industrial relief.

(2) The best way for the workers to support Russia in the economic war is the political revolutionary struggle, and the increasing pressure upon their government to recognise Soviet Russia, and resume business relations with her on favourable terms. But if we take into consideration Russia's importance for all workers we must in addition to political activity, strive also for the maximum of economic help from the world proletariat.

Every factory, every workshop, which Russia can start going without capitalist credits, and with the support of the working class, is an effective support to Soviet Russia in its struggle against the imperialist robbers, and every improvement of the conditions within Russia, the first working-class state in the world, strengthens the International proletariat in its struggle against its class enemy, the bourgeoisie.

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International therefore, regards it as the duty of every workers' party and organisation, and especially of the Communist Parties, to render

practical support to Soviet Russia through economic relief action for the reconstruction of her industry in addition to the political revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie.

(3) The most important task of the proletarian economic relief outside of Russia consists in the gathering of means to purchase machines, war materials, etc., for Soviet Russia. Besides the old methods of collections, gifts, entertainments, etc., consideration should be given to subscription to workers' loan for Soviet Russia by Party groups, trade unions, co-operatives, and other organisations of the working class.

The propaganda for proletarian economic relief at the same time furnishes the best opportunity for agitation in favour of Soviet Russia. It is therefore to be carried out in close connection with the national sections in the various countries.

Since this problem of the economic support of Soviet Russia is of great importance to the working class as a whole, it is necessary to create committees consisting of delegates from the various working class organisations similar to the workers' Committees for Russian Famine Relief, to organise and lead this action. The task of these committees or corporations is to interest the largest possible masses of the workers in economic relief.

These committees are subordinated to the Communist International.

(4) The employment of funds collected by these committees or corporations must take place in close co-operation with the existing Russian economic bodies, be it those of the State or of the workers' organisations.

(5) A mass immigration of foreign workers in Russia at the present time does not aid, but renders more difficult the reconstruction of Russia, and must not be advocated in any case. The importation of foreign workers into Russia must be limited to individual specialists which are especially necessary in certain enterprises. But even in such individual cases, this should take place only with the understanding and agreement of the Russian Trade Unions.

(6) The proletarian economic relief must combine harmoniously our aspirations towards the ideal aim of concentrating the International solidarity of the workers upon the relief for the first proletarian country in the world, and the desire to produce concrete economic results.

(7) In accordance with the principles of socialist co-operation, and industrial management, the surplus produce must be used only to enlarge the field of activity of the economic relief.

Resolution on the Programme of the Communist International

1. All programme proposals are to be handed in to the Executive of the Communist International or to a Commission appointed by the latter, for detailed study and elaboration. The Executive of the Communist International is to publish with the least possible delay all programme proposals submitted to it.

2. The Congress endorses the decision that all the national sections of the Communist International, which are as yet without a national programme, must at once take in hand the elaboration of such a programme which must be submitted to the Executive not later than three months before the Fifth Congress for endorsement by the next Congress.

3. The necessity of the struggle for the transition demands must be emphasised in the programmes of the national sections, with the reservation that such demands are dependent on the concrete conditions of time and place.

4. The theoretic basis for all transition and partial demands must be definitely laid down in the general programme, the Fourth Congress strongly condemning all attempts to represent the inclusion of the transition demands into the programme as opportunism, and also all attempts to gloss over or to replace the basic revolutionary task by partial demands.

3. The basic historic types of the transition demands of the national sections must be clearly embodied in the general programme, due account being taken of the basic differences in the economic and political structure of the various countries, as, for instance, Great Britain on the one hand, India on the other.

Resolution on Re-organisation of the Communist International towards an International Communist Party

The World Congress.

The World Congress will continue to take place annually. The date will be fixed by the Enlarged Executives. All the affiliated sections must send their delegates, the number of which will be determined by the Executives. The cost is borne by the parties. The number of votes for the respective sections will be determined by Congress in accordance with the membership and political importance of the respective countries. No binding mandates are permitted, and such will be declared

invalid, because such mandates contradict the spirit of an international, centralised, proletarian world party.

The Executive.

The Executive is to be elected by the Congress. It shall consist of the President, 24 members and 10 substitutes. No less than 15 members of the Executive must be permanently domiciled in Moscow.

The Enlarged Executive.

Regularly every four months meetings of an Enlarged Executive shall take place. These sessions are to be composed in the following manner:—

- (1) Of 25 members of the Executive.
- (2) Of additional three representatives from each of the following parties: Germany, France, Russia, Czecho-Slovakia, and Italy; also the Young Communist International and the Profintern.
- (3) Of two representatives from England, Poland, America, Bulgaria and Norway.
- (4) Of one representative from each of the other countries that are entitled to votes.

It is the duty of the Presidium to submit to the meetings of the Enlarged Executive all the more important fundamental questions that permit of delay. The first Enlarged Executive must take place immediately after the World Congress.

The Presidium.

The elected Executive, at its first meeting shall choose a Presidium, which is to include one representative each from the Y.C.L. and the Profintern, with consultative votes, and is to comprise the following departments:—

- (1) An Oriental Department, to whose activities the Executive must devote special attention during the coming year; the Director of the Oriental Department must be a member of the Presidium. In its political activity this department is subordinate to the Presidium; its relations with the Organisation Bureau are regulated by the Presidium.
- (2) A Department of Organisation (Org. Bureau), containing no less than two members of the Presidium. The Org. Bureau is subordinated to the Presidium.
- (3) A Department of Agitation and Propaganda, under the guidance of one member of the Executive. Also this department is directly subordinated to the Presidium.
- (4) A Department of Statistics and Information, subordinated to the Org. Bureau.
- (5) The Executive has the right of establishing additional departments.

Division of Work among the Members of the Executive.

An exact division of work is to be made among the members of the Executive as well as of the Presidium. For the

purpose of preparing the work for the individual sections, the Presidium appoints a responsible reporter for every one of the more important countries. As a rule, this reporter should be a member of the Executive, or, when possible, of the Presidium. Such reporters as are not members either of the Executive or of the Presidium shall work under the control of a member of the Presidium. The Presidium shall organise a General Secretariat, under the management of a General Secretary. The Executive shall appoint two assistants to the General Secretary. The Secretariat shall not have the function of an independent political organisation, but shall be only the administrative organ of the Presidium.

It is the duty of the Executive to influence all the parties to adopt a similar distribution of work, with due regard to the circumstances and the situation in every individual country.

The Representatives.

In exceptional cases the Executive may send representatives to the individual countries, who shall be appointed from among the competent comrades of the sections. These representatives shall be furnished by the Executive with the widest powers. The functions of these representatives, the rights and duties, as well as their relations to the respective parties shall be definitely laid down in special instructions.

It is the duty of the Executive to take particular care and to see to it that the conditions and the decision of the World Congress shall be really carried out. The representatives of the Executive must give all attention to the proper carrying out of these conditions. The representatives must report on the results of their work not less than once a month.

The International Controlling Commission.

The International Controlling Commission remains in force. Its functions are the same as were formulated by the Third World Congress. The World Congress appoints every year two neighbouring sections, whose central committees shall send three members each, to the Controlling Commission, whose members are to be endorsed by the Executive, for the ensuing year. The Executive entrusts this function to the German and French sections.

The Technical Information Bureau.

The Technical Information Bureau remains. Their function is to supply technical information, and their work is subordinated to the Executive.

"The Communist International."

The "Communist International" is the organ of the Executive: the editorial board is chosen by, and subordinated to the Executive.

The Congress declares that all Communist publications are obliged as hitherto to print all documents from the Executive

(appeals, letters, resolutions, etc.) when the Executive so demands.

Minutes of National Parties.

It is the duty of the central committees of all sections to furnish regularly to the Executive the minutes of all their meetings.

Exchange of Representatives.

It is desirable, for the purpose of mutual information and for the co-ordinated work, that the more important sections of neighbouring countries shall mutually exchange representatives. The reports of these representatives shall be simultaneously furnished to the Executive.

It is further desirable that the appointment of such representatives should take place with the consent of the Executive.

Conference of Sections.

As a rule, prior to the World Congress of the Communist International, party conferences or enlarged national executives shall meet to make preparations for the World Congress and to elect delegates to the Congress. The party conferences of the individual sections shall take place after the World Congress.

Exceptions can be made only with the consent of the Executive.

Such procedure ensures the best protection of the interests of the individual sections, and, at the same time, creates the possibility of taking advantage of the entire experiences of the international movement, from the bottom upwards.

At the same time, this procedure affords the possibility of constructing the Communist International as a centralised world party, "from the bottom upwards," by a system of democratic centralism which bases its directives on the sum total of international experiences.

Resignations.

The Congress in the most decisive manner condemns all cases of resignations tendered by individual comrades of the various central committees and by entire groups of such members. The Congress considers such resignations as the greatest disorganisation of the Communist movement. Every leading post in a Communist party belongs not to the bearer of the mandate, but to the Communist International as a whole.

The Congress resolves: Elected members of central bodies of a section can resign their mandate only with the consent of the Executive. Resignations accepted by a Party Central Committee without the consent of the Executive Committee are invalid.

Illegal Activity.

In accordance with the decision of the Congress, in which it is pointed out that a number of important parties in all probability will be compelled for a time to adopt illegality, it is the duty of the Presidium to give its utmost attention to the training of the respective parties for their illegal work. Immediately after the close of the Congress the Presidium shall commence negotiations with the parties in question.

International Women's Secretariat.

The International Women's Secretariat remains. The Executive appoints a women's secretary, and, in consultation with the latter, carries out all the further organisational work.

Representation in the Young Communist Executive.

The Congress instructs the Executive to arrange for regular representation of the Comintern in the Young Comintern. The Congress considers it to be one of the most important tasks of the Executive to promote the work of the Youth movement.

Representation in the Profintern.

The Congress instructs the Executive, in conjunction with the Executive of the Profintern, to work out the form of mutual relations of the Comintern and Profintern. The Congress further points out that now more than ever is the economic struggle closely bound up with the political campaign, and consequently a special internal co-ordination of forces of all the revolutionary organisations of the working class must be effected.

Revision of the Statutes.

The Congress confirms the Statutes as adopted by the Second Congress, and instructs the Executive, on the basis of the newly-adopted resolutions, to revise and to perfect these statutes. This work must be carried out in proper time, distributed for preliminary consideration to all the parties, and finally endorsed by the Fifth World Congress.

Programme of Action for French Communist Party

1. The most pressing task of the Party is to organise the resistance of the proletariat against the capitalist offensive which is developing in France as in every other large industrial country. The defence of the eight-hour day, the maintenance and increase of the present salaries, the struggle for the immediate economic demands of the proletariat, this is the best platform to reunite the disorganised proletariat, and give it confidence in its strength and its future. The Party must immediately take the initiative in every mass action capable

of opposing the offensive of capital and instilling the working class with the sense of its unity.

2. The Party must undertake a campaign to show the workers the interdependence of the eight-hour day and of wages, and the inevitable effect of one of these demands upon the other. It must use as a weapon of agitation, not only the activities of the employers, but also the attacks of the State against the immediate interests of the workers, as, for instance, the tax on wages, and every economic question which interests the working class, such as the increase in rents, the tax on consumption, social insurance, etc. The Party must undertake an active propaganda campaign among the workers for the creation of factory councils, uniting all the workers in each enterprise, irrespective of whether they are already organised economically and politically or not, in order to exercise workers' control on the conditions of work and production.

3. The slogans for the immediate economic demands of the proletariat must serve as means to realise the United Front against the economic and political reaction. The United Working Class Front must be our governing rule for every mass action. The Party must create the favourable conditions for the success of this policy by undertaking seriously the education of its own members and of sympathetic elements by every means of propaganda at its disposal. The Press, the pamphlets, the books, meetings of all sorts, everything must be used in this work of education which the Party must carry on in every proletarian group where there are Communists. The Party must appeal to the important rival political and economic organisations of the workers; it must always publicly state its proposals and those of the reformists, and give the reasons for its acceptance of some proposals and the rejection of others. In no case must it renounce its complete independence, its right to criticise all the participants in the action. It must always seek to take and maintain the initiative of those movements, in the sense of this programme.

4. To be able to take part in the action of the workers in all its forms, to help in the orientation of this action or in certain circumstances, to fulfil a decisive rôle in them, the Party must immediately create its organisation for activity among the unions. The formation of Trade Union committees in the federations and the sections (decided upon at the Paris Congress) and of Communist nuclei in every factory and large capitalist or state enterprise will permit the Party to penetrate right into the masses of workers, and enable it to spread its slogans and increase Communist influence in the proletarian movement. The trade union committee, whatever the degree of organisation of the Party of the trade union may be, will maintain connections with the Communists who, with the permission of the Party, have remained in the reformist C.G.T., and will guide their opposition to the policy of the official

leaders; they will register every trade union member of the Party, control his activities and transmit to him the directives of the Party.

5. Communist agitation in all trade unions without exception shall consist primarily in agitating re-establishment of trade union unity, indispensable for the victory of the proletariat. The Communists must make use of every opportunity to show the harmful effects of the present division, and advocate fusion. The Party must combat every tendency to dispersed action to decentralised organisation, to local or craft exclusiveness and to anarchistic ideology. It must propagate the necessity of a centralised movement, of the formation of large organisations by industry, of co-ordination of strikes in order to substitute mass actions which will instil the workers with confidence in their strength, for localised actions which are doomed to failure. In the C.G.T.U. the Communists must combat every tendency opposing the adhesion of the French trade unions to the Red International of Labour Unions. In the reformist C.G.T. they must denounce the Amsterdam International and the leaders' policy of class collaboration. In both federations they must advocate joint action, demonstrations and strikes, the United Front, organic unity, and the integral programme of the R.I.L.U.

6. The Party must take advantage of every large movement, spontaneous or organised, to show the political character of every class conflict, and use them as favourable conditions for the propagation of its political slogans, such as political amnesty, the annulment of the Versailles Treaty, the evacuation of the left bank of the Rhine, etc.

7. The struggle against the Treaty of Versailles and its results must be the first task. We must effect the union of the proletariat of France and Germany against the bourgeoisie of the two countries which profit by the war and the peace treaty. It is the urgent duty of the French Party to inform the workers and the soldiers of the tragic situation of their German brothers, crushed by the burden of the economic difficulties resulting directly from the Peace Treaty. The German government can satisfy the demands of the Allies only by increasing the burdens of the German working class. The French bourgeoisie spares the German bourgeoisie, treats with it to the detriment of the working class, helps them to take possession of the public utilities, and guarantees them aid and protection against the revolutionary movement. The two bourgeoisies are ready to accomplish the alliance of French iron and German coal; they are coming to an understanding on the question of the occupation of the Ruhr, which signifies the enslavement of the German miners. But the German workers are not the only ones menaced; the French workers will be made to feel the competition of German labour, reduced to such cheapness by the depreciation of the currency. The French Party must explain this situation to the French working class

and warn it against the danger which menaces it. The Communist press must constantly describe the sufferings of the German proletariat, the victim of the Versailles Treaty, and show the impossibility of carrying out the Treaty. Special propaganda must be carried on in the devastated regions to denounce the two bourgeois classes as responsible for the sufferings of both countries, and to develop the spirit of solidarity among the workers of the two countries. The Communist slogan must be, "Fraternisation of the French and German soldiers and workers on the left bank of the Rhine!" The Party must maintain close ties with its brother party in Germany in order successfully to conduct this struggle against the Treaty of Versailles and its results. The French Party must combat French Imperialism, not only in Germany, but all over the world, especially as it appears in the St. Germain, Neuilly, Trianon, and Sevres Peace Treaties.

8. The Party must undertake systematic permeation of the army. Our anti-militarist propaganda must differ radically from the hypocritical pacifism of the bourgeoisie, and must be based on the disarmament of the bourgeoisie and the arming of the proletariat. In their press, in parliament, on all favourable occasions, the Communists must defend the interests of the soldiers, advocate the recognition of their political rights, etc. Our revolutionary anti-militarist propaganda must be intensified everywhere when there is a menace of war. This propaganda must be placed in the hands of a special organ of the Party, in which the Communist Youth must participate.

9. The Party must take in hand the interests of the exploited colonial people oppressed by French Imperialism, support the nationalist demands which constitute a step towards the liberation from the yoke of the foreign capitalists, and defend unreservedly their right to autonomy and independence. The immediate task of the Party is to fight for the political and trade union liberties of the natives, and against native levies. The Party must combat ruthlessly every reactionary tendency existing even among certain working class elements in the form of a prejudice against the natives. It must create a special organ within the Central Executive to carry on Communist agitation in the colonies.

10. Our propaganda among the peasantry to win over the majority of the agricultural workers, tenant farmers and poor peasants to the revolution and gain the sympathies of the small landowners must be accompanied by action for the amelioration of the conditions of life and work of the peasant workers and of the tenants dependent upon the large landowners. Such action demands that the district organisations of the Party establish and propagate programmes of immediate demands corresponding to the peculiar conditions in each district. The Party must favour the agricultural associations and co-operatives which help to destroy the individualism of the

peasants. More especially, it must exert its efforts to create and develop trade unions among the agricultural workers.

11. The Communist propaganda among the working-class women is of the greatest importance, and requires a special organisation. A central committee within the Executive, with a permanent secretariat, more and more numerous local commissions and a journal devoted to propaganda among the women are necessary. The Party must demand the unification of the economic demands of the men and workers, equal pay for equal work without distinction of sex, the participation of the exploited women in the campaigns and the struggles of the workers.

12. We must make more efforts than in the past in the development of the Communist Youth. In every branch of both organisations reciprocal relations must be established between the Party and the Youth. The Youth must be represented on every Commission formed in the Central Executive. The federations, sections and propagandists of the Party must help the existing groups of young Communists, and help to create new ones. The Central Committee must take an interest in the Press of the Youth, and assure to that organisation a forum in the Party Press. In accordance with this programme, the Party must represent the demands of the young workers in the trade unions.

13. In the co-operatives, the Communists must defend the principle of unified national organisation, and create national groups attached to the co-operative section of the Comintern through a commission formed in the Executive. In every federation a special commission must be created for propaganda among the co-operatives. The Communists must transform the co-operatives into a branch of the working-class movement.

14. Our members in the Chamber, in the municipal councils, etc., must conduct an energetic struggle in connection with the struggles of the working-class and the campaigns conducted by the Party and the trade unions outside of Parliament. In accordance with the theses of the Second Congress of the Comintern, the Communist representatives must be controlled and directed by the Executive of the Party, the municipal, general, and district councillors, controlled and directed by the sections and the federations, and must serve the Party as agents of propaganda and agitation.

15. To be able to accomplish the tasks developed in its programme and the national and International Congresses, the Party must perfect and strengthen its organisation following the example of the large Communist Parties of other countries, and the rules of the Comintern. We require a strict centralisation, an inflexible discipline, the subordination of every member of the Party to his branch, of each branch to the organisation immediately above it. Furthermore, we must develop the Marxism education of our militants by a

systematic increase of theoretical courses in the sections, by the opening of Party schools. These courses and these schools must be placed under the direction of a Central Commission of the Executive.

Resolution of the French Commission

(a) Executive Committee.—As an exception, under the circumstances of the acute crisis provoked by the Paris Congress, the Executive Committee shall be constituted on a proportional basis, taking, as a basis the voting of the Congress for members of central bodies.

The proportions of the different factions will be as follows:

Centre: 10 members and 3 substitutes.

Left: 9 members and 2 substitutes.

Renoult Faction: 4 members and 1 substitute.

Renaud-Jean Minority: 1 member.

Communist Youth: 2 representatives with an advisory vote.

The political bureau will be formed on the same basis, the various tendencies being represented as follows: Centre, 3; Left, 3; Renoult Faction, 1.

The members of the Executive Committee, as well as those of the Political Bureau and other important central bodies, will be nominated by the French members of the various factions now in Moscow, in order to avoid all personal disagreements which might tend to aggravate the crisis. The list of candidates is to be submitted by the Delegation to the Fourth World Congress, and the delegation will undertake to defend it before the Party. The Fourth Congress makes this declaration in the conviction that this method is the only possible one for solving the Party crisis.

The list of the new Executive elected by the various factions now follows:—

THE CENTRE.

Members:—

Frossard, General Secretary of the Party and delegate on the Executive.

Louis Sellier, temporary secretary.

Marseil Cachin.

Jacob, secretary of the Textile Federation.

Garchery, municipal councillor of Paris.

Lucis Leiciague, stenographer.

Marrane, mechanic, secretary of the Federation of the Seine.

Ocurdeaux, employee in the Paris Post Office.

Laguesse, discharged teacher, secretary of the Federation of the Seine-et-Marne.

Paquereaux, turner, secretary of the Federation of Seine-et-Oise.

Substitutes:—

Peirpont, textile worker.

Dupillot, treasurer of the United Federation of Miners
(reserved for confirmation in Paris).

Plais, telephone worker.

THE LEFT.

Members:—

Rosmer, employee.

Treint, discharged teacher.

Vaillart-Couturier, deputy.

Souvarine, journalist.

Tomasi, aviation construction worker.

Christen, mechanic.

Amedee Dunois, journalist.

Cordier, hairdresser.

Bouchez, mechanic.

Substitutes:—

Salles, metal worker.

Departer, filer.

RENOULT FACTION.

Members:—

Barbatet, metal worker.

Fromont, carriage builder.

Dubus, miner from Pas-de-Calais.

Werth (usually called Rogen Gerald), metal worker.

Substitute:—

Lespagnol, employee.

A National Conference with the power of the Party Congress, shall ratify this list not later than the last fortnight in January.

Until that time the provisional Executive Committee nominated by the Party Congress will remain in power.

(b) The Press.—The Congress confirms the rule for the Press which has already been decided: (1) The management of the papers shall be turned over to the Political Bureau; (2) there shall be a daily unsigned editorial giving the readers the opinion of the party; (3) prohibition of Party journalists contributing to the bourgeois press.

Editor of *l'Humanite*: Marcel Cachin.

General Secretary: Amedee Dunois.

Both of these have equal powers, and any disagreement between them must be brought before the Political Bureau and settled by them.

Editorial Secretariat: One from the Centre and one from the Left.

The editorship of the *Bulletin Communiste* will be given to a comrade of the Left.

The resigned editors will reassume their positions.

In order to prepare for the National Conference, the Party page will be re-established, in which each tendency will have the right to express its point of view.

(c) General Secretariat.—This position will be occupied on a party basis by one comrade from the Centre and one from the Left; all disagreements to be settled by the Political Bureau.

Member, Frossard. Substitutes, Louis Sellier and Treint.

(d) Delegates of the Executive.—This Congress considers it absolutely necessary, in order to establish normal and cordial relations between the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the French Party, that the two most important tendencies be represented in Moscow by those comrades best qualified and authorised by their respective factions. That is to say, that they shall be represented by Comrades Frossard and Souvarine for at least three months, until the end of the crisis within the French Party.

The fact that the French Party will be represented at Moscow by Frossard and Souvarine, will give complete certainty that every suggestion of the International Executive, arrived at in agreement with these two comrades will receive the support of the whole party.

(e) Appointment of Party Officials.—With regard to the appointment of Party officials, editors, etc., the Party will set up a special commission composed of comrades possessing the complete confidence of the Party, in order to regulate this question from two points of view: (1) The elimination of all possibility of one comrade filling two or more paid posts, which provokes legitimate indignation among the members of the Party; (2) Those comrades whose work is absolutely necessary for the Party, shall be given appointments which will permit them to give their whole time to the service of the Party.

(f) Committees.—(1) Administrative Committee of *l'Humanité*, 6. Centre, 5. Left, 2. Renoult Faction.

The French Commission states that proportional representation is used here also purely as an exceptional measure for the important committees.

(2) Trade Union Secretariat.— There shall be a secretary from the Centre and one from the Left; all misunderstandings to be settled by the Political Bureau.

(g) Cases in Litigation.—Those cases which came out of the decisions taken in Moscow, and their application, will have to be regulated by a special committee composed of one representative of the Centre, one representative of the Left, and the delegate of the Executive as President.

(h) Positions forbidden to former Masons.—By this we understand those posts where the holders have the power of representing more or less independently, on their own re-

sponsibility, the ideas of the party before the working masses, by voice or by pen.

If there is any uncertainty with regard to the allocation of these posts, between the two factions, it must be submitted to the Committee above mentioned.

In case of technical difficulties for the reinstatement of those editors who have resigned, the Committee above described will settle these difficulties.

All resolutions that do not concern the constitution of the Executive Committee are immediately applicable.

Besides those provisions mentioned in the resolutions, the Renoult Faction has asked to have a substitute at the Executive with Comrades Frossard and Souvarine, during a period of three months.

The Commission has unanimously granted this request of the Renoult Faction.

The motion is adopted, with two votes against, namely:—
Brancon (France).

Antonio B. Canejian (Brazil).

There is one abstention.

Resolution of Italian Commission

The second and Third World Congresses of the Communist International had to devote much time to the Italian problem. The Fourth Congress is now able to summarise the whole matter.

At the end of the Imperialist World War, the situation in Italy was objectively revolutionary. The reins of government had fallen from the hands of the bourgeoisie. The apparatus of the bourgeois state had become disrupted. The ruling class felt insecure, the whole of the working class was aroused against the war, and in many parts of the country was in a state of open insurrection. Considerable numbers of the peasantry were rising against the large landowners and the government, they were willing to support the working class in its revolutionary struggle. The soldiers were against the war and ready to fraternise with the workers.

The objective conditions for a victorious revolution were at hand. But the most important subjective factor was lacking,—namely, a determined, trained, prepared, alert, revolutionary working-class party, i.e., a real Communist Party ready to take over the leadership of the masses.

Such was the situation in almost all belligerent countries at the end of the war. That the workers did not accomplish the revolution in the years 1919-20 was due to the lack of a revolutionary working-class party. This was demonstrated with particular clearness in Italy, a country where the

revolution seemed nearest, and which has now been plunged into the most fearful horrors of the counter-revolution.

The occupation of the factories by the Italian workers in autumn, 1920, was a most decisive moment in the development of the class struggle in Italy. Instinctively, the Italian workers sought for a revolutionary solution of the crisis. But the absence of a revolutionary proletarian party decided the fate of the working class, sealed their defeat, and prepared the present victory of the Fascists. The working class owing to this lack of revolutionary leadership, did not find the necessary strength to take the power into its own hands. And so it happened that after a short time, the bourgeoisie conquered the proletariat and established the dictatorship of its most radical wing, the Fascists. The example of Italy is of great importance. Nowhere is the proof of the importance of the historical mission of the Communist Party so evident as in Italy, where, as a result of the absence of such a party, events were turned to the advantage of the bourgeoisie.

It is not that there were no working-class parties in Italy in this decisive hour. The old Socialist Party had a large membership, and to all appearances exercised a great influence. But it contained in its ranks the reformist elements that paralysed every revolutionary action. In spite of the first split in 1912 (expulsion of the extreme Right) and of the second secession in 1914, there were still a great number of reformists and Centrists in the Socialist Party of Italy. These reformists and Centrists acted as a dead weight upon the Party at every decisive moment. Nowhere did it become so clear as in Italy that the Reformists were the most dangerous agents of the bourgeoisie amongst the working class. They did not leave any means untried to betray the working class to the bourgeoisie. Such treachery as that of the reformists during the occupation of the factories has often been demonstrated in the history of reformism, which is in reality nothing but a long unbroken chain of betrayals. The real forerunner of Fascism was Reformism. The treachery of the reformists is primarily responsible for the great sufferings of the Italian proletariat. If the Italian working class has to begin over again the difficult road which leads to revolution, it is because the reformists have been tolerated so long in the Italian Party.

At the beginning of 1921 the breach of the majority of the Socialist Party with the Communist International took place. In Livorno, the centre showed itself willing to split away from the Comintern and from 58,000 Italian Communists formed an independent organisation with 16,000 members. Two parties were created. The young Communist Party was resolute in its struggle against the bourgeoisie and its reformist accomplices, but in spite of all its courage, too weak to lead the working class to victory; and the old Socialist Party, where, after Livorno, the influence of the reformists

became ever more pronounced. The working class stood divided and helpless. The bourgeoisie kept the upper hand with the help of the reformists. It was then that the political and economic offensive of capital really began. It took two full years of defeats and of the blackest betrayals on the part of the reformists to convince the leaders of the Centre, under the pressure of the masses, of their irreparable error, and induce them to draw the consequence of their actions.

It was not until October, 1921, at the Congress of Rome, that the reformists were expelled from the Socialist Party. It had come so far that the most prominent leaders of the reformists were boasting openly that they had been able to sabotage the revolution by remaining in the Socialist Party of Italy, and forcing it to inactivity at every decisive moment. The reformists went openly from the ranks of the S.P.I. into the camp of the counter-revolution. They left the masses powerless, discouraged, and greatly weakened the Socialist Party, both numerically and politically.

These sorry, but instinctive examples of Italian history must convince the class-conscious workers of every country that—(1) reformism is their chief enemy; that (2) the oscillations and hesitations of the Centrists are dangerous to the existence of a working-class party; and that (3) the existence of a determined and alert Communist Party is the first condition for the victorious struggle of the proletariat. These are the lessons of the Italian tragedy.

Considering the resolutions of the S.P.I. in Rome (October, 1922), expelling the reformists from the Party, and declaring itself ready to adhere unconditionally to the Communist International, the Fourth World Congress of the Comintern resolves:—

(1) The general situation of Italy, especially since the victory of the Fascist reaction, requires imperiously the rapid union of all revolutionary forces of the proletariat. The Italian worker will come to his feet again when, after the many defeats and splits, a new rallying of all revolutionary forces is started.

(2) The Communist International sends its brotherly greeting to the hard-pressed working class of Italy. It is thoroughly convinced of the honest revolutionary spirit of the Socialist Party of Italy, now it is freed from its reformist elements, and resolves to admit the S.P.I. to the Communist International.

(3) The Fourth World Congress regards the fulfilment of the 21 conditions as something which is self-understood, and in view of events in Italy, charges the Executive Committee to insist upon their being carried out with the utmost rigour and with all resulting consequences.

(4) The Fourth World Congress resolves that, after his speech at the Congress of Rome, the representative Vella and

his followers have no place in the communist Party of Italy. The Fourth World Congress demands from the Central Executive of the Socialist Party of Italy, to expel all those who do not accept the 21 conditions unconditionally.

(5) Since, according to the Statutes of the Communist International, there can be only one section of the Comintern in one country, the Fourth World Congress decides upon the immediate union of the Communist Party with the Socialist Party of Italy. The united Party to be known as "The United Communist Party (Section of the Communist International)".

(6) To get this union carried into life the Fourth Congress nominates a special Organisation Committee consisting of three members from each party under the chairmanship of a member of the Executive. This Committee is to consist of Comrades Tasca, Gramsci, and Sessicindro from the Communist Party; from the Socialist Party, Comrades Serrati, Maffi, and Tonetti, and from the Executive, Comrade Zinoviev. The Executive reserves the right to replace Comrade Zinoviev by any other member. This committee is to prepare in Moscow a detailed statement of the conditions for the reunion, and direct the carrying out of this union in Italy. The Executive is to be considered as the court of last resort in all conflicting issues.

The Central Executives of both parties are to conduct the general business of their parties until the unification congress. They are, however, subordinated in their whole political activity as well as in their work of preparing the unification to the Organisation Committee.

(7) Such Organisation Committee shall also be created in the large factories and in the cities, consisting of two members from each party, the chairman to be appointed by the representative of the Executive.

(8) The task of these Organisation Committees, central as well as local, will be not only to prepare the unification, but to conduct the common political activity of both organisations from that time on.

(9) There is also to be created a common trade union committee, whose task it should be to agitate in the Confederation of Labour against the Amsterdamers, and to win over the majority of the trade unions to the Profintern. This committee should also consist of two representatives from each party, presided over by a comrade appointed by the Executive of the Comintern or the Organisation Committee. The trade union committee works according to the instructions and under the control of the Organisation Committee.

(10) In every city where a Communist and a Socialist newspaper exist, these must be consolidated by January 1st, 1923, at the latest. The editorship of the central organ for the coming year to be named by the Executive of the Comintern.

(11) The unification congress should take place not later than the 15th of March, 1923. The Executive is to decide when and under what conditions separate conferences of both parties should take place before the unification congress, for the purpose of preparation and information of the working class.

(12) Illegal activity has become an absolute necessity in Italy at the present day. The comrades of the Socialist Party of Italy must make good now what they have neglected to do. It would be most dangerous to entertain any illusions as to the nature of Fascism and its probable development. We must reckon with the possibility that the revolutionary working-class movement of Italy will be forced underground for a certain period of time. The near future will bring the acid test for every revolutionary proletarian organisation and for every individual revolutionist.

The Congress leaves it to the Central Committee of Five to formulate a detailed plan of illegal activity, and to do its utmost to put this plan into operation.

(13) The Fourth Congress resolves that a manifesto shall be published on the question of unity to be signed by the Presidium of the Fourth World Congress and the delegation of both parties, to be distributed at once.

(14) The Congress reminds all the Italian comrades of the necessity of strict discipline. It is the duty of all comrades without exception to do their utmost to help bring about the unification without any delay, and without any disturbance. Every breach of discipline in the present situation becomes a crime against the Italian proletariat and the Communist International.

Resolution of Egyptian Commission

After several sessions the Commission has reached the following conclusion:—

1. The report of the S.P.E. delegate, made available to the Commission, is satisfactory evidence that the S.P.E. represents a substantial revolutionary movement in conformity with the Communist International.

2. The Commission considers, however, that the affiliation of the S.P.E. must be postponed until—

(a) The Party has expelled certain undesirable elements.

(b) The Party has convoked a Congress at which an attempt shall be made to unite with the S.P.E. any Communist element in Egypt that may at present exist outside the S.P.E., and will accept the 21 demands of the C.I.

(c) The Party has changed its name to "The Communist Party of Egypt."

3. The S.P.E. is therefore instructed to summon a congress for the above purposes at an early date, and not later than January 15, 1923.

Resolution of Danish Commission

(1) This Congress declares that the present Communist Party of Denmark, which was formed under the directions of the Executive of the Communist International, by a union of the Communist "Enhatsparti" and a part of the so-called old Party, one which has loyally carried out all decisions of the Communist International, is recognised as the only section of the Communist International in Denmark. The Party's chief publication, "Arbejderbladet," and other recognised organs of the Party, shall be issued as Communist Party publications.

(2) The Congress demands that all Communist organisations at present outside of the United Party shall join the United Party.

Such organisations and members of the so-called old Party, who, within the next three months, decide in favour of this United Communist Party and declare themselves as prepared loyally to execute all directions of this Party and its central organs, and of the Communist International, shall be received into the United Party without further conditions.

Resolution of Spanish Commission

1. The Spanish Communist Party, which, together with France and Italy had voted against the tactics of the United Front at the Session of the Enlarged Executive in February, soon recognised its error, and on the occasion of the great Asturian strike in May, declared itself for the United Front tactics, as a result of conviction and not of mere formal party discipline. This showed the Spanish working class that the Party was ready to fight for its every-day demands, and was capable of leading the workers in this struggle.

In persevering in this attitude and in taking advantage of all the opportunities for action by drawing the working class organisations and the entire proletariat into action by co-ordinating their revolutionary effort, the Spanish Communist Party will gain the confidence of the masses, and will fulfil its historic mission.

2. The Fourth World Congress expresses its pleasure at the satisfactory solution of the crisis which had convulsed the Party at the beginning of the year, and which ended in the

reinforcement of discipline within the Party ranks. The Congress calls upon the Party to persevere in this attitude, and calls especially upon the Young Communists to do their utmost in strengthening Party discipline within their ranks.

3. A characteristic feature of the present Spanish working-class movement is the decline of the anarcho-syndicalist ideology and movement. This movement, which a few years ago had succeeded in drawing in large masses of workers, has failed to fulfil the expectations and the revolutionary will of the latter by making use not of Marxist and Communist tactics of mass action and of centralised struggle, but of anarchist tactics of individual actions and of federalism and terrorism, which is tantamount to scattering the proletarian forces.

To-day the deceived working masses are leaving the organisations, and their leaders are rapidly moving towards reformism.

One of the chief tasks of the Communist Party is to win and educate the deceived working masses, to denounce the neo-reformism of the syndicalist leaders, and to attract the anarcho-syndicalist elements that have recognised the error of their doctrines.

But in its efforts to win the confidence of the anarcho-syndicalist elements, the Communist Party must take care not to make concessions in principle or tactics to the ideology condemned by the experience of the Spanish proletariat itself. It must combat and condemn within its ranks the tendency to concessions intended to enlist more rapidly the sympathies of the syndicalists, and thus direct the Party towards a policy of concessions. It is preferable to take longer time with the assimilation of the syndicalist elements, making them convinced Communists, than to win them over rapidly, by sacrificing party principle, which would lead to more painful crises in the near future. The Spanish Party will do its utmost to explain to the anarcho-syndicalists the revolutionary tactics of parliamentarism, as defined by the Second World Congress. For the Communist Party, electoral action is a means of propaganda and of working-class struggle, and not a refuge for aspiring reformist and petty bourgeois politicians.

Consistent application of United Front tactics will win the confidence of the masses, which are still under the influence of anarcho-syndicalist ideology, and will show them that the Communist Party is a political organisation for the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat.

4. Our Party must pay more attention to the Spanish trade union movement. It must initiate an energetic and systematic propaganda in all the trade union organisations for the unification of the trade union movement in Spain.

In order to achieve success in this direction, it must have the support of a network of Communist nuclei in all the trade unions adhering to the National Confederation and to the

General Confederation, as well as in all the autonomous trade unions. Therefore, it must oppose and combat every idea or tendency advocating resignations from the reformist trade union. In the event of trade unions or Communist groups being expelled from reformist trade unions, the Communists must take care not to satisfy the wish of the Amsterdam secessionists by coming out of the unions as a matter of solidarity. On the contrary, they must express their solidarity for the expelled comrades by remaining within the General Confederation and by carrying on an energetic agitation for the reinstatement of the expelled comrades or unions. If, in spite of their efforts, trade unions and groups fail to be reinstated, the Communist Party must encourage them to join the National Workers' Confederation (C.N.T.). The Communist members of the C.N.T. must establish their nuclei within this organisation which must be attached to the trade union commission of the Party. They will no doubt collaborate harmoniously with the trade unionists adhering to the Red Trade Union International without being members of our Party. But they must preserve their own organisation intact, and, without relinquishing their Communist viewpoint, they must have fraternal discussion with the trade unionists on all controversial matters.

In order to ensure the success of the struggle for trade union unity, the Communist Party must establish a mixed committee for the unity of the Spanish trade union movement, which will be the centre of propaganda, and at the same time a rallying point for the trade unions of both confederations and of the autonomous trade unions adhering to the principle of unity. The Party must endeavour to explain to the Spanish working masses that the ambitions and the local interests of the reformist and anarcho-reformist leaders are the only obstacles to trade union unity which is a vital necessity if the working class is to be freed from the capitalist yoke.

Resolution on the Opposition in the Czecho-Slovakian Party

I. The Opposition.

The expulsion of Comrades Jilek, Bolen, etc., was the result of repeated violation of discipline, committed by these comrades against the Party. After the representative of this group, Comrade Jilek, in common with the representative of the Committee of the Party, Comrade Smeral in Moscow, had given his consent to the resolution which stated that in the Czecho-Slovakian Communist Party there are no basic differences, but at the same time pointed out that there were

certain shortcomings in the practice of the Party, it was the duty of all the comrades to rectify the errors which they admitted. Instead of this, the opposition demanded the continued existence of a factional organ, "Kommunista," which was a contradiction to the resolution of the Third Congress, which forbade the formation of factions. In the fight for its factional organ, the Opposition committed a gross violation of discipline when, a few days before the meeting of the Council of the Party and of the Party Conference, it circulated an appeal containing the gravest accusations against the Central Committee. The Opposition, by hesitating to withdraw these accusations, caused extreme irritation to the Party Council and to the Party Conference, and thus unwisely provoked their own expulsion.

In the forum of the International, the Opposition preferred a charge against the majority of the Central Committee and against Comrade Smeral, that the latter were working for a governmental coalition with the Left elements of the bourgeoisie. This charge is in direct contradiction to the known facts of the activity of the Party, and must be rejected as totally unsubstantiated. The programme demands of the Opposition as expressed in the draft programme of Vajtauer, contain syndicalist and anarchist, but no Marxian and no Communist conceptions.

The fact that such demands were advanced by the Opposition demonstrates an anarcho-syndicalist deviation on their part from the basic principles of the Communist International.

Nevertheless, the Fourth Congress is of the opinion that the expulsion of the Opposition was inexpedient. The Congress substitutes for this expulsion a stern rebuke and their suspension until the next Conference of the Czecho-Slovakian Communist Party. The decision to revoke expulsion as inexpedient should by no means be interpreted as an expression of consent to the programme of the Opposition, but it was prompted by the following considerations:—The Council of the Party had failed to make it clear to the Opposition at the outset that the formation of factions would not be tolerated; the Opposition therefore deemed itself justified in fighting for the existence of its factional organ. Furthermore, a number of previous breaches of discipline had been tolerated, which caused a weakening of respect for discipline and responsibility on the part of the Opposition. The Fourth Congress leaves the expelled comrades within the Party, but it emphasises the imperative duty of the Opposition implicitly to submit itself to the discipline of the Party and to strictly discharge all its obligations.

This subordination to the discipline of the Party makes it incumbent upon the Opposition to withdraw the assertions and charges which are damaging to the unity of the Party, which were found to be unsubstantiated and untrue on investigation by the Commission. Henceforth they must obey

all the orders of the Central Committee. If any member should feel convinced that an injustice has been done to him, he ought to appeal to the nearest competent organ of the Party (Enlarged National Council, National Conference), and in the last instance to the Controlling Organ of the Communist International. Until a decision is rendered by the highest instance, every member must absolutely and unconditionally submit to the decisions adopted by the Party organisations.

II. The Press.

The Press of the Party must be placed under the uniform leadership of the Central Committee. It is impermissible that the central organ of the Party should venture not only to conduct its own separate policy, but even to consider itself entitled to conduct such a policy. Even if the Editorial Board be of opinion that the responsible leadership of the Party was wrong on a certain concrete question, it is their duty to abide by that decision. The editorial position should not be regarded as a higher instance, but on a line with the other organs of the Party and should be subordinated to the Central Committee. This does not mean to say that the Party editors are not free to express their own opinion in discussions and in signed articles. The discussions on Party questions should be conducted in the general Party Press, but these discussions should in no case be conducted in a manner detrimental to Party discipline.

It is the duty of all the parties and of all the organisations to prepare their actions by thorough discussion in the Party organisations.

III. The Shortcomings of the Party.

The Fourth Congress fully endorses the July Theses of the Enlarged Executive, in which we find that the shortcomings of the Czecho-Slovakian Communist Party may be explained by their transition from a social-democratic to a Communist Party. The fact that these shortcomings were recognised by the Central Committee no less than by the Opposition makes it even more the imperative duty of all the comrades to do their utmost to remove them. The Congress asserts that the Party is making but slow progress in removing these shortcomings. Thus, for instance, the Party was not sufficiently active in arranging for the propaganda of Communist ideas in the Czecho-Slovakian army, although the legality of the Party and the franchise of the soldiers furnished a good opportunity.

The Fourth Congress instructs the Communist Party to give more attention than hitherto to the question of unemployment. In view of the magnitude of unemployment in Czecho-Slovakia and the precarious position of the unemployed, it is the duty of the Party not to content itself with

this or that demonstration, but to carry on systematic agitation and demonstration among the unemployed throughout the country, in parliament and in municipal councils, and to combine parliamentary action on behalf of the unemployed with action in the trade unions and in street demonstrations.

The parliamentary action of the Party must be of a much more demonstrative character. It must completely reveal to the masses the attitude of the Communist Party towards the policies of the ruling class, and awaken the desire of the masses to capture the power of the State.

In view of the great economic struggles raging in Czecho-Slovakia, which may turn into political struggles any day, the Central Committee should be so reorganised as to be able to take quick decision upon every question. The Party organisation and the Party membership must strictly maintain the discipline of the Party, permitting no wavering or hesitation.

The question of the United Front and of the Workers' Government was properly carried out by the Party as a whole. The Party Council acted quite properly in repudiating individual misconceptions, like the conception of Comrade Votava, who thought that the question of a workers' government was one of a purely parliamentary combination. The Party must be aware of the fact that the workers' government will be possible in Czecho-Slovakia only if it will convince by its agitation the large masses of the National-Socialist, Social-Democratic and indifferent workers, of the necessity to break with the bourgeoisie, if it will succeed in detaching parts of the peasantry and of the petit-bourgeoisie of the city—suffering under the burden of the high cost of living—from the bourgeoisie and in attracting them to the ranks of the Anti-Capitalist Front. In order to achieve this, the Party must take part in all the conflicts, and by its determined leadership and expansion of the conflicts, bring home to the masses that the Czecho-Slovakian Communist Party is the centre of the United Front of all the anti-capitalist elements, that it is willing to turn the correlation of forces in Czecho-Slovakia into the mass struggle in favour of the toiling elements.

In order that the workers' government shall be formed as well as maintained, the Party must exert all efforts to bring together all the workers expelled by the Amsterdam Trade Unions and to organise them into powerful unions. It should at least win support of the workers and peasants to the struggle for the defence of the interests of the working class, and thus obviate the danger of pacifism and of oppression of the working class by the armed violence of the bourgeoisie. Hence the propaganda and the campaign for the workers' government must always be conducted in connection with the propaganda and campaign for proletarian mass organs (Defence Councils, Control Committees, Factory Councils, and the like). It is also necessary to hold prominently before the

masses the programme of the workers' government (shifting the burden of State expenditures on to the possessing classes, control of production by the workers' organs, arming of the working class), in order to emphasise the difference between a bourgeois social-democratic coalition and a workers' government relying upon the organs of the working class.

This work should have the co-operation of all the members of the Party. There should be no vain grumblings, no spreading of false accusations, no sowing of distrust against the leaders of the Party, but pointed criticism of their shortcomings, daily positive work to remove the shortcomings. Only in this way will the Party become a militant Communist organisation equal to the great tasks imposed upon it by the development of events in Czecho-Slovakia.

RESOLUTION ON THE Norwegian Communist Party

After having heard the report of the Norwegian Commission, the Congress resolves:—

(1) It is necessary to inform the Executive of the Norwegian Party of the necessity of a more exact fulfilment of all decisions of the International and its Congress, as well as of its executive organs. In the Party organs, as well as in the decisions and resolutions of the directing committees of the Party, there should be no doubt whatever expressed of the possibility of their application to all eventualities which may occur in the life of the Party.

(2) The Congress orders the carrying out of Party reorganisation on the basis of individual membership within one year at most after the next national conference of the Party. The Executive must report, not less than once every two months, on the practical measures taken in the carrying out of this work, and their results.

(3) With regard to the contents of the Party Press, the Party is obliged to comply immediately with the decisions of the previous World Congress as well as those contained in the letter from the International Executive of 23rd of last September. The social democratic names of the Party papers must be altered within three months from the date of closing of this International Congress.

(4) The Congress supports the standpoint of the Executive in its references to the parliamentary mistakes of the representatives of the Norwegian Party. The Congress is of the opinion that the Communist parliamentary representatives must submit to the control of the Party and the criticism of the Party Press. This criticism must, however, always be well founded and of a comradely nature.

(5) The Congress believes it to be quite admissible, and even necessary, to use the antagonism between various sections

of the bourgeoisie in the struggle against the whole bourgeoisie. This refers especially to the antagonism between the representatives of large-scale industry and the landed proprietors on the one hand, and the peasants on the other hand. The struggle to win the peasantry must be one of the special tasks of the Norwegian Party.

(6) The Congress states once again that the parliamentary group, as well as the Party Press, must unconditionally submit to the control of the Central Committee in every detail.

(7) The group, "Not Dag," which is an independent organisation, must be dissolved. We must by all means encourage the formation of a Communist student group, which shall be open to every Communist and under the full control of the Party Executive. The review "Not Dag" may become a Party organ on condition that its editor be chosen by the Central Committee of the Norwegian Party, in agreement with the Executive of the Communist International.

(8) The Congress sustains the appeal of Comrade H. Olsen, and as he is an old and faithful comrade, and was a most active worker and official in the Party, the Congress reinstates him in his rights as a Party member. At the same time the Congress definitely states that his conduct at the Congress of the Metal Workers' Union was incorrect.

(9) This Congress resolves to expel Karl Johannsen from the Communist International and the Norwegian Party.

(10) With the object of bringing about a closer co-operation between the Norwegian Party and the International Executive, and to help overcome the present conflicts with as little friction as possible, this Congress instructs the future Executive to send its plenipotentiary representative to the next National Conference of the Norwegian Party.

(11) This Congress entrusts the Executive with the task of drawing up a letter to the Norwegian Party elucidating this resolution.

(12) The above resolution and the letter of the Executive shall be published in all Party organs, and shall be communicated to all branch organisations of the Party, before the delegates to the next Party Conference are elected.

RESOLUTION ON Communist Party of Jugo-Slavia

The Communist Party of Jugo-Slavia was formed out of the organisations of the former Social-Democratic Party in those provinces which now constitute Jugo-Slavia. It came about by expelling the Right, and later also the Centrist elements, and by affiliating the Party with the Communist International (the Vukovara Congress of 1920). The growth of the Communist Party was greatly promoted by the general revolutionary ferment which spread over Central Europe at

that time (the Red Army's march on Warsaw, the seizure of the metallurgical factories in Italy, the strike wave in Jugo-Slavia). In a short space of time the Party grew into a mass organisation (wielding tremendous influence over the large masses of workers and peasants. This was demonstrated by the municipal elections' results, in which the Party captured many municipalities, including Belgrade, as well as by the subsequent elections for the Constituent Assembly, in which the Party secured 59 deputies. This momentous growth of the influence of the Communist Party caused alarm among the dominant military and financial oligarchy, forcing the latter to start a systematic campaign for the purpose of destroying the Communist movement. After the violent suppression of the railwaymen's general strike in April, 1920, the militant oligarchy dissolved by force the municipal councils at Agaram (in June of the same year), and on the 29th of September a decree was published dissolving all the Communist and trade union organisations; the Communist newspaper was suppressed, and the Communist clubs were handed over to the social patriots. In the month of June the Defence of the Realm decree was promulgated, which outlawed the Communist Party and drove it out of its last refuge—the parliament and the municipalities.

In addition to the objective reasons arising out of the general situation in the country, the destruction of the Communist Party of Jugo-Slavia is greatly due to its own internal weakness. Its outward growth did not correspond either with the development and the consolidation of the organisation, or to the level of the Communist consciousness of the party members. The party had not time to complete its evolution towards Communism. It is perfectly clear now that the leading organ of the Party committed a number of serious errors and blunders owing to a wrong interpretation of the methods of struggle laid down by the Comintern. These blunders made the task of the counter-revolutionary government easy. While the working masses showed energy and revolutionary will in a series of strikes, the Party revealed no revolutionary initiative. Thus, when in 1920 the police prohibited the May-day demonstrations in Belgrade, the Central Committee of the Party made not the slightest attempt to arouse the masses to protest. The same thing happened in the following year. Neither did the Party organise any mass action in defence of the municipal councillors, who were forcibly ejected from the Belgrade municipality, which was wrested from the Communists. The passivity of the Party encouraged the government to go to the very extreme. In fact, the government, taking advantage of the miners' strike which broke out at the end of December, dissolved the Party, which at the elections had returned 59 members to parliament. Even then the Party did not organise any mass action.

This passivity of the Party, in the face of the fierce attacks

of the reactionaries, was the result of the Party not being firm in its Communist convictions. The Party was still burdened with the old social-democratic conceptions.

Although the Party had enthusiastically joined the Communist International, which showed the readiness of the masses for struggle, the leading organ was not yet quite familiar with the new path. Thus, for instance, it did not dare to publish the 21 conditions adopted by the Second Congress; nor did it publish the "Theses on the Question of Revolutionary Parliamentarianism." Thus it left the Party and the masses which were following it in complete ignorance of the demands which the Communist International had put before the parties which wanted to be real Communist parties. At the same time, the leading organ of the Party did not take any serious steps for the education of the Party and of the masses for the struggle on all fields against the reaction which was threatening them. It concentrated its attention chiefly on its electoral victories, and took care not to alarm the petty bourgeois elements by showing them what the Communist Party meant and what its methods of struggle were. At a time when the financial and military oligarchy in Belgrade was getting ready to conduct a savage and decisive struggle against the revolutionary working-class movement, the Central Committee of the Jugo-Slavian Communist Party was concentrating its attention and spending its energies on such secondary questions as parliamentarianism, leaving the rear of the Party undefended and unorganised. This was its fundamental mistake.

The Jugo-Slavian Party proved itself absolutely powerless and incapable of protecting itself against the White Terror. It had no underground organisation which could have enabled it to act under the new conditions and to remain in contact with the masses. Until the dissolution of the parliamentary group the Communist deputies were the only link between the Centre and the provinces. This link was severed with the dissolution. The arrest of the leading comrades in the Centre and in the provinces left the movement without a lead. Owing to these arrests the Party almost ceased to exist. The same fate overtook the local organisations of the Party, and the danger arose of the workers' organisations, which were left entirely to themselves, becoming completely disrupted. The social-democrats, with the assistance of the police, endeavoured to make use of these circumstances which were favourable to them, but they failed.

Under the reign of terror the central organ of the Party only very slowly acquired the organisational forms and methods of struggle dictated by the new conditions. For a long time it remained passive, hoping that as a consequence of the internal differences within the ruling class, this regime would soon pass away without the active intervention of the mass of the workers. It was only when all hopes of an amnesty for the

Communists who were being tried before the tribunal, were dashed to the ground that the Central Committee of the Party began the work of reorganisation, in order to call the Party again into life. It was only in July, 1922, that the first Enlarged Plenum of the Party Committee took place in Vienna. The Vienna Conference deserves warm commendation as the first attempt to re-establish the Party, notwithstanding the defects of its composition and of the viewpoint of the Party statutes. The conditions of the country at that time, the changes in the composition of the Party as a result of arrests and of the treachery of some of the Party members, and of the passivity of the Party for eighteen months, precluded all possibility of convening a legal plenum which could really represent the Party. The Executive of the Communist International did right, therefore, in declaring the Enlarged Plenum a sufficiently competent representative of the Jugo-Slavian Communist Party, and in endorsing its resolution with some extremely rational amendments concerning the composition of the newly-elected Central Committee. For the same reason, the attempt of several Jugo-Slavian comrades to sabotage the Conference by leaving the session on the sixteenth day, regardless of their good intentions, must be condemned as objectively injurious to the Party.

The resolution of the Vienna Conference on the question of the general situation in Jugo-Slavia and the immediate task of the Communist Party, on the trade union movement and reorganisation of the Party, and the resolutions on the Third Balkan Communist Conference, endorsed as they stand by the Comintern Executive, did not arouse any differences of opinion among the representatives of the majority and the minority within the Party. This unanimity on questions which are of the greatest importance to the Party in the present period, is the best proof that there is no justification whatever for dividing the Jugo-Slavian Party into majority and minority factions, and that the split among the leaders which occurred at the Vienna Conference was entirely due to reasons of a personal character. At the moment of its revival, Jugo-Slavian Party must represent a united whole.

This unity must be also preserved in the future. In the face of the capitalist and social-democratic reaction, which is now raging, nothing would be more damaging for the Party and revolutionary movement for Jugo-Slavia than factionism. Therefore, it is the duty of the new Central Committee of the Party to do its utmost, and to take all the necessary steps, in order to set the minds within the Party at rest, to remove all suspicions, to re-establish mutual confidence within the Party and to rally under its banner all the active workers who have remained at their post throughout the counter-revolutionary terror.

In order to achieve this aim, it is essential on the one hand, to carry out the decisions of the Vienna Conference, on the

purging of the Party from the compromised element, and on the other hand, to bring into the responsible work of the Party comrades from the ranks of the Vienna Conference minority. The Jugo-Slavian Party can receive valuable assistance in this respect from the Balkan Communist Federation. In order to do this, Jugo-Slavian Party must follow the example of the other Balkan Communist Parties, and must send without delay its representative into the Executive Committee of the Balkan Federation. The Comintern must give substantial assistance in the matter of the re-establishment and the inner consolidation of the Jugo-Slavian Party. The Executive must maintain a closer connection with the C.C. of the Party than formerly. However, the future of the Party depends chiefly on those party comrades who are active and politically and morally sound. The Comintern depends on these comrades, and calls upon them to do their duty. The resuscitated party, having profited by the harsh lessons of the recent past, and animated by the faith in the ultimate triumph of the world revolution, will be able to rally to its banner the proletarian elements, which were left without a lead, and to organise and consolidate the Jugo-Slavian section of the Balkan Communist Federation.

The Congress authorises the Executive of the Comintern to take any organic measures which circumstances might demand.



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